College of Minnesota
3 1500 00108 8442
901 T74
The philosophy of
01 GC

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

https://archive.org/details/philosophyofcivi0001ruth

to them (in his edict), 'I subdued you by the power of my sword, and consequently whatever you possess belongs of right to me: if you gamble, therefore, you are sporting with my property.'" (*Travels of Marco Polo*, Bk. II, Chap. XXVI.)

The Grand Khan also gradually accumulated all the gold current in his dominions by the process of issuing paper currency, which he forced his subjects to accept as legal tender. (*Ibid.*, Chap. XVII.)

That is, the sovereign, as possessor of all property, fixed, at his own will, the portion which should be paid to him; the common people enjoyed what was left. The sovereign's forbearance might treat his subjects generously; or his greed might claim, as the Mohammedan rulers did, more than could actually be obtained. In either case, the subject enjoyed no "right" to withhold property from his sovereign. Property rights existed only between subjects; not between subject and ruler.

In Egypt, a like situation was created by the policy of Joseph. The land of the peasants was bought, and the title thereto vested in Pharaoh the king. The people became servants under Pharaoh; seed was furnished to them, and they tilled the land, on condition that a fifth part of the produce should be paid to the government. (Genesis XLVII: 14–26.) From the death of Pharaoh until the British occupation, the condition of the Egyptian fellaheen did not greatly vary. Whoever ruled the land, the principle was established that private property could not be withheld from the government.

In Europe, the civilization attained by the polygamous Celts was marked by the same concentration of property in the hands of the rulers. Mommsen quotes from Greek travellers the following account of the magnificent state maintained by Luerius, King of the Arvernians:

"Surrounded by his brilliant train of clansmen, his huntsmen with their pack of hounds in leash and his band of

The Philosophy of Civilization

By

R. H. Towner

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

In Two Volumes

Volume One

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE LIBRARY
WINONA, MINNESOTA

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York & London
The Knickerbocker Press
1923

Copyright, 1923
by
R. H. Towner

Made in the United States of America

901
T74
:1
23670

PREFACE

Geography has broadened while history and archæology have lengthened the field of mankind's social vision so that the present civilization has a background and a perspective heretofore unknown. Man's knowledge has increased and the larger world of three dimensions now disclosed to his eager eyes presents new factors that the ancient sages could not see. It is no longer possible to regard our civilization as a just and permanent testimonial to the superiority of a color, a race, a nation, a government or a religion. Rather, it is now seen to be but one of a recurring series of like phenomena, destined perhaps to disappear as all its predecessors have disappeared. Each addition to our knowledge of these predecessors, each new evidence of their rise and fall, increases our sense of the impermanence of our own civilization. Wonder and anxiety as to its fate are often expressed by writers conscious of its height, sometimes doubtful of its benefits, and always fearful of its fall.

But knowledge of the rise and fall of other civilizations may serve a better purpose than simply to excite our fears as to the fate of our own. History asks and answers questions; and the study of history's repetitions enables an impartial investigator to discern like factors operating with like effect upon successive human groups in the past. These different factors may be seen and isolated and their different effects described. Certain factors are found to be always present during the rising period of each group's separate civilization. These factors decline, disappear or are reversed and other and opposite factors become effective in modifying the same groups during the period of their civilization's fall. Reason and evidence combine to prove that factors thus observed and isolated are in reality causa-

tions; that those factors always present in rising civilizations actually cause their rise; and that opposite factors, always present in declining civilizations, actually cause civilization's fall; so that by merely observing the factors affecting and modifying our own or another national group, its future may be computed and predicted with mathematical certainty. Nations, moreover, if intelligently disposed to do so, may, by changing from unfavorable to favorable the factors effective on the national group, arrest at any time a threatened national decline and insure for their posterity the certainty of future national greatness.

While the possibility of arresting national decline and consciously preserving a conscious civilization by the intelligent application of the science of mathematics to the solution of the problem of the national future is of general and permanent interest, it has now an especial interest and importance for the several countries inhabited by the English-speaking people. The civilization attained by all who speak the English tongue has advanced by like steps, influenced by like factors, to about the same height and is now threatened by a similar and synchronous decline. There is abundant evidence that the civilization of all the English-speaking peoples has reached its turning point. Like all other civilizations its rise was wholly fortuitous; no conscious intelligence of its own numbers consciously introduced the factors necessary to attain its present height or gave it conscious directions to avoid a fall. Like other civilizations its rise was fairly continuous for about three centuries, that is, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century of our era, or from the reign of Henry VIII to Victoria. Like other civilizations it was centrifugal and expansive so as to carry the arms, flag, language and customs of its narrow island home to the uttermost parts of the globe and extend its dominion over hundreds of millions scattered throughout a great empire and a great republic.

But a review of its past intensifies the interest in its future. The English-speaking people were influenced during

their rise by favorable factors which have now declined and have begun to disappear. Those factors that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were continuously improving each successive generation of their descendants are no longer effective and the fortuitous improvement of posterity has ceased. New factors unknown to the generations of their immediate ancestors have begun to replace the old, and their cumulative effect, increasing with each generation, will soon be apparent in a changed and declining posterity. The change will be proportionate to the difference between the old factors which have disappeared and the new ones that have supplanted them. Accordingly, by isolating and observing the factors common to the rising period of all other fortuitous civilizations; by noting the generation when these factors ceased to operate and new factors appeared; and by marking the difference between the old factors and the new, it becomes possible to compute the period when such civilizations reach their peak, the generation when their decline may be expected and the causes of that decline.

In the following pages there is presented and examined the evidence afforded by history of the factors that caused the rise and fall of four ancient civilizations—Israel, Greece, Rome and Islam. It is likewise shown that the rise of modern civilization followed from the same causes whereby all these ancient civilizations rose; and that its fall may be expected from the same factors which caused their fall. I have chosen in most cases to quote rather than to paraphrase so that the evidence is usually given in the language of the historians themselves. But the reader will find the narrative continuous and will have no difficulty in reading into the text the extracts from historical authorities.

Always in dealing with groups of large numbers extending over many generations of time, the temporal factors whose incalculable results are expended on mortals, offset each other and may be cancelled out of the problem. It is the eternal factors, affecting and modifying groups for

many generations, whose results are calculable and account for civilization's rise and fall. These eternal factors are comparatively few; but their effects are uniform and may be computed with mathematical exactness. It is the reversal of these eternal factors that now threatens the civilization of English-speaking peoples.

The selection of mothers has changed from favorable to unfavorable, so that women of augmented nervous organization, once extremely fruitful, have become less fruitful with each succeeding generation, and are now nearly barren. The result is seen in a dearth of young genius, a decline of spirituality, and an increasing love of visible things. The vertebrate structure of government and family has changed to invertebrate, with the result that freedom and diversity, always present in rising civilizations, have been supplanted by espionage and uniformity, the invariable stigmata of decline.

The toleration of minorities which for two centuries divided all the English-speaking people among a multitude of different sects, each governed by its own religious faith, has yielded to numerical standards of orthodoxy, fixing by a multitude of new statutes visible and uniform rules of conduct, enforced by an absolute government upon all faiths alike. Visible and corporeal regulation has extinguished invisible and spiritual guidance and the great spiritual revivals characteristic of a rising civilization are no longer seen in English-speaking countries.

The growing intolerance, the extinction of all diversity and the denial of spiritual authority over individual conduct are further evidenced by the changed attitude toward private property and drink. So that everywhere in the English-speaking world rights of private property are already greatly impaired and may soon be lost; while whole states and nations have changed from the drinking religion of their Christian ancestors to an Asiatic prohibition of wine.

And finally, to all the other evidence of their decline to Asiatic standards, add the fact that English-speaking

people have ceased to be centrifugal and no longer send out pioneers to settle on new lands. They are gradually abandoning even the lands settled by their own immediate ancestors. So that in every English-speaking country each census shows an increase in the urban and a decrease in the rural population. This change from centrifugal to centripetal is characteristic of declining nervous organizations.

Individual and spiritual freedom, independence, dissent and isolation are so precious to higher nervous organizations that pioneers will brave the bodily terrors of the wilderness to gain these spiritual comforts for the soul. Not so with lower nervous organizations. They seek dependence, conformity, unity, visible and numerical standards, enforced by worldly powers. Their interest is in this world, its dangers, comforts and amusements. They leave pioneering to higher spirits, and, for themselves, they love to concentrate in cities, to huddle around a government and expect it to keep them and their offspring perpetually and uniformly fed, clothed, housed, warmed, pleased and good. Such was the Roman rabble after Augustus; such is now most of the English-speaking race. In each civilization it marks a like change and a certain decline.

Such reversal of the factors whereby our civilization rose, must inevitably lead to its fall. Unless the evil factors which have usurped the place of good factors, can be themselves stamped out and the favorable factors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries again restored to exercise their improving influence on successive generations of posterity, the present civilization of all English-speaking countries must, like every ancient civilization, decline and fall. The computation of the effect of these factors on human groups is exact, accurate and unimpeachable. Every civilization obeys the immutable law of numbers. And this law sternly decrees the doom of every civilization that reverses the factors whereby it rose.

R. H. Towner.

New York, May, 1923.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Temporal and Eternal	3
II.	The Selection of Mothers	11
III.	Israel	24
IV.	Hellenes	30
V.	Rome	43
VI.	Eastern Empire	100
VII.	Islam	116
VIII.	Polygamy	134
IX.	Europe from the Fifth to the Tenth Century	143
X.	Modern Civilization. (Tenth to the Sixteenth Century)	172
XI.	Modern Civilization. (Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century)	212
XII.	Private Property	259

The Philosophy of Civilization

The Philosophy of Civilization

CHAPTER I

TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL

1. Spin a roulette wheel once, and it is impossible to foretell what number the ball will seek. Spin the same wheel, under the same conditions, a million times, and it is possible to foretell the result with mathematical exactness. If the wheel be true, so that equality of opportunity is offered to the little ball, it will fall into each numbered compartment an equal number of times. In a million plays it will come red as often as black; odd as often as even. This result will recur with mathematical certainty with each succeeding million, as long as equality of opportunity is preserved. If, at the end of the first million, there appears the tiniest fraction of discrepancy between the various numbers, that fraction will be corrected in succeeding millions. There will never be a continuous departure from equality; but the actual result will forever oscillate near and forever return to it, so that no one number, and no group of numbers, whether odd or even, or red or black, will establish a permanent ascendency. Whatever variation there is from this exact equality, is temporary and apparent only; the variation, even in a much smaller group than a million plays, will never exceed the proportion of 36 to 37.

Arrange a million roulette wheels in a square plane, one thousand to a side. Spin them simultaneously. If, again, each wheel is true so that equality of opportunity is offered

to the little ball, the result will be the same as when one wheel is played a million times. The various numbers will come out in perfect equality. There will be no difference between red and black, odd and even. Now continue spinning these million wheels, and introduce into them a definite factor of inequality. Let one of the red numbered compartments be covered so that the ball cannot enter. In a single spin of one wheel, the absence of one red compartment will be hardly discernible in the result. In a dozen spins there might be a run of twelve successive reds. In a hundred spins, red might come a majority of times. In a million, the result of closing one red compartment will be recorded with mathematical exactness. Instead of red and black coming out an equal number of times, there will be, infallibly, a change to the proportion of 17 to 18. Continue spinning the million wheels; and now let the first twelve numbered compartments gradually and insensibly diminish in size at the rate of a millimetre a year for each. Again the result, inestimable on one spin of one wheel, and indiscernible, perhaps, for a long time on the play of one wheel, will, infallibly, be recorded on a million wheels. The first twelve numbers will no longer sustain their exact equality with the second twelve, and the third twelve. The factor which introduces inequality, however slight, will be accurately recorded. As the experiment continues, it will be possible to observe, and to estimate exactly from the record of the plays, the continuing diminution of these compartments. It can be seen, too, when the diminution stops; when it is reversed, and the first twelve compartments restored to equality with the rest; and when they are enlarged. As the wheels continue spinning, time will record, with mathematical certainty, every change that takes place in the size of the compartments, i.e., in the equality of opportunity.

Mathematical law, which infallibly rules the group, does not necessarily govern its separate units. So in the play of roulette, it may be observed that each separate spin of the

wheel appears to be independent of any law, and is an operation of chance alone. Increase the number of spins to a group sufficiently large, and it becomes evident that, although each separate spin is an operation of chance alone, the group records results in which chance has no part. As the number of spins increases, the operations of chance diminish. Mathematical law, partially and imperfectly exhibited in a small group, increases its sway as the number is enlarged, and finally establishes its supreme rule. So that, in the progress of numbers from one spin of one wheel to a million spins of a million wheels, chance, which ruled at the beginning, has abdicated, and mathematical law, powerless at the start, has become firmly enthroned.

2. It is evident that unit and group are subject to different sets of factors corresponding to things temporal and things eternal. These factors differ in number, in power, and in time. The aggregate power of all the unit factors is expressed in one group factor; so that although the numbers of the former infinitely exceed the latter, a single group factor is infinitely stronger than any single unit factor. Hence the oscillations of the units are within bounds set by the factors ruling the group. These boundaries may be known, but within them the entire multitude of unit factors cannot be known or foreseen, so that the action of each unit seems to be the result of chance alone. But the unknown unit factors are so brief that they expire with the unit on which they are exerted. As they are continually expiring, and are continually new, the action of each unit (within the bounds set by group factors) is different. The life of the group factor, however, equals in duration the sum of the lives of all the unit factors; so that, although the unit may be governed by factors which are unstable, ephemeral, and unsolved, the group is ruled by factors which are stable, durable, and ascertainable. The difference is briefly and accurately expressed by calling unit factors temporal and group factors eternal.

The temporal factors which govern the action of units

cannot be known, nor the action of units foreseen; but the eternal factors which rule the group may be ascertained, and the results of these factors be exactly computed.[1]

[1] While we are making these reflections, the ivory ball slackens its course and begins to hop like a noisy insect over the thirty-seven compartments that allure it. This is the irrevocable judgment. O strange infirmity of our eyes, our ears and that brain of which we are so proud. O strange secrets of the most elementary laws of this world. From the second at which the ball was set in motion to the second at which it falls into the fateful hole, on the battle-field three yards long, in this childish and mocking form, the mystery of the Universe inflicts a symbolical, incessant and disheartening defeat upon human power and reason. Collect around this table all the wise men, all the divines, all the seers, all the sages, all the prophets, all the saints, all the wonder-workers, all the mathematicians, all the geniuses of every time and every country; ask them to search their reason, their soul, their knowledge, their Heaven for the number so close at hand, the number already almost part of the present at which the little ball will end its race; beg them, so that they may foretell that number to us, to invoke their gods that know all, their thoughts that govern the nations and aspire to penetrate the worlds: all their efforts will break against this brief puzzle which a child could take in its hand and which no longer fills the smallest moment's space. No one has been able to do it, no one will ever do it. And all the strength, all the certainty of the "bank," which is the impassive, stubborn, determined and ever-victorious ally of the rhythmical and absolute wisdom of Chance, lies solely in the establishment of man's powerlessness to foresee, were it but for the third of a second, that which is about to happen before his eyes. If, in the span of nearly fifty years during which these formidable experiments have been made on this flower-clad rock, one single being had been found who, in the course of an afternoon, had torn the veil of mystery that covers, at each throw, the tiny future of the tiny ball, the bank would have been broken, the undertaking wrecked. But that abnormal being has not appeared; and the bank well knows that he will never come to sit at one of its tables. We see, therefore, how, in spite of all his pride and all his hopes, man knows that he can know nothing.

MAETERLINCK, *Temple of Chance.*

In respect to the above one may offer certain observations:

I. There seems to be no reason why a mathematician, who deals with numbers, should be required to prognosticate an isolated individual event.

II. The result of a number of spins sufficiently large, is perfectly well known, not only to mathematicians but to the bank.

The individual fact, subject to chance rather than to law, proves nothing but itself. It affords no means of prognosticating another individual fact; it offers no evidence of the existence of law; it declares only the result of a multitude of factors, chiefly unknown. Group facts, subject to law instead of to chance, prove much besides themselves. They discover the factors influencing the group; they offer means for prognosticating the action of like groups influenced by like factors; or of the same group under the same factors, or with these factors removed, or reversed; and they declare a law of causation which makes it possible to proceed in either direction—so that knowledge of the factor affords knowledge of the action of the group, or knowledge of the action of the group affords knowledge of the factor. Thus it is possible to look backward on a group of events, and ascertain the factor or factors of causation; and having ascertained these factors, it is possible to look forward, and determine the course of a future group of events. Intellect gains a new source of knowledge.

III. The strength of the "bank," and the profit of its operations, depends upon its foreknowledge of this result; so that by continually paying 35 to 1 on an event, the odds against which are 36 to 1, the bank secures a constant and certain profit without taking any chances whatever. There is no mystery about the source of this profit, and it would disappear if the bank paid 37 to 1.

IV. Inability to foretell a single isolated event is not evidence that man knows nothing. On the contrary, all cosmic phenomena occur in groups which are subject to mathematical law, and when man knows the factors influencing these groups he knows a great deal, and can very readily and usefully foretell the future.

V. This is so true that there are no wagers upon group phenomena; and men who desire to gamble are at much pains to create an uncertainty that is worth a bet. Thus the only betting at roulette is on the result of a single spin or a few separate spins. No one would bet on the result of a hundred thousand or a million spins, because that result is certain, and is known. So also no one would bet on the result of a race between a group of race horses and a group of cart horses. Even contests between race horses become so certain that distances and weights must be continually changed in order to create enough uncertainty to stimulate betting.

It is by these means that actuaries, profoundly ignorant of the duration of a single human life, compute with mathematical exactness the mortality in a group of a million lives. Prophecy instead of being a magical revelation is simply a problem in mathematics.

3. Civilization is a group, not an individual phenomenon. It must be studied, therefore, through an investigation of its group facts, i.e., facts common to successive generations of parents and children. The true human group is of three dimensions. Two dimensions constitute a social plane embracing the individuals of contemporaneous existence—the single year, decade, generation, or century. The third dimension includes their ancestors and posterity as the social plane moves through time to make a cube. The mental picture of a million roulette wheels spinning continuously through centuries of time, illustrates the application of mathematical law to human society. Each spin of each wheel is apparently an operation of chance alone, independent of all the spins which precede or follow it. But mathematical law rules the group and infallibly determines the result of all the spins. So, though each *single* human life is governed by factors so incalculable, that its course, duration, and result can neither be foreseen nor explained, a *group* of human lives continuously affected by like factors, and continuously changed by death and birth, is subject not to chance but to mathematical law. Factors common to such a group, continuing through centuries, constant, changing, reversing, or expiring, may be isolated, examined, defined, and their influence described. These may be seen operating elsewhere upon like groups and producing like results. Knowledge of them enables the observer to declare with mathematical certainty the reasons for civilization's rise and fall; to show the course of human events in the past, and to prognosticate its future. All this can be done only with groups, and only by the application of mathematical law to group facts, extending through time.

4. Civilization is a result of the continuous improvement

of posterity. The change, however, from savagery to civilization is a change of spirit rather than of body. The anatomist placing on the dissecting table, side by side, the bodies of a savage and a civilized man, finds their physical structure nearly identical. Slight differences in cranial measurements perhaps distinguish them. The psychologist, on the other hand, finds between the spirit of savage and civilized groups, a great and impassable gulf. In civilized man, the nervous system has grown so that the skull is considerably enlarged, and its shape sensibly changed. With the augmentation of the nervous system, has come an increase of spiritual stature. Civilized man is capable of knowledge, reason, free will and self-restraint; intellectual qualities unknown to the primitive. The change is not only of degree, but of kind. Mental processes unconceived by and impossible to savages, are familiarly and daily employed in civilization. The sense of abstract justice, the capacity for abstract reasoning, the worship of an abstract God, the faculty of conscious observation and the employment of the science of mathematics,—these are a few examples of the mental changes which open to civilized man an intellectual and spiritual world into which savages have no entry.

The continuous improvement of posterity, therefore, is a spiritual improvement alone. The nervous system is augmented, the intellect develops, the spiritual stature increases. The body remains nearly unchanged.

It is plain, then, that those human groups whose rise in civilization is recorded in history, were influenced by factors favorable to the augmentation of the spiritual stature of posterity; that these factors operated continuously over a period of time, measurably corresponding to civilization's rise; and ceased to operate at or about the time when posterity no longer showed spiritual improvement, and when civilization consequently fell. An examination of completed groups, in civilizations which have risen, flourished and decayed, shows successive generations of improvement and of deterioration of posterity. The reasons for each are

ascertainable from evidence. History affords the means of gathering this evidence, and of learning therefrom why civilization rose in Greece, Italy or southern Spain, and why in turn it fell.

CHAPTER II

THE SELECTION OF MOTHERS

5. Mankind's ascent from savagery to civilization is invariably marked by a striking improvement in sexual morals—shown, in both men and women, by an increase in continence, and distinguished in women particularly, by the growth of sexual coldness. The facts as to incontinence among savages generally are fully recounted in history and travel and need not be repeated here. The facts as to the sexual coldness of women in civilization are now recorded in the works of doctors, and may be accepted as fully established.

"The number of women afflicted with the anomaly of frigidity is considerable. It is claimed by many authorities that ten to twenty per cent. of all womankind is afflicted with this anomaly. The number of cases met with in the author's practice inclines him to regard this as an underestimate." (*Woman*, by B. S. Talmey, M.D., New York, 1904, Chap. LI.)

"The most divergent opinions are entertained relative to the feminine sexual impulse, and there are those who hold that sexual anæsthesia should be considered as natural in women, and maintain that any other opinion would be degrading; while others who do not share this opinion believe that sexual frigidity among civilized women is unnaturally prevalent."

"The conditions of women in regard to their marital relations vary with the individual, and for convenience married women have been divided into the following classes:

"First. Women so situated and constructed, both physically and mentally, that they respond to the caresses of the husband at all times.

"Second. Those who can under reasonable circumstances,

by a voluntary effort hasten or retard the climax to meet the varying conditions under which they live.

"Third. Those who are unable to properly participate, or bring into requisition any physical or mental methods to produce simultaneous orgasm, or harmonious relations, but are left excited, nervous and unsatisfied after coition.

"Fourth. Women whose sexual passion does not become aroused; who do not derive any pleasure or benefit from copulation, and who cannot conceive how the act can be pleasurable to anyone.

"This division is somewhat arbitrary, as it is possible for a woman to be put in any of these classes at different times during her marital life.

"It is also impossible to determine the proportion of women in any of these classes, but it has been estimated that the first class embraces 5 per cent.; the second 50 per cent.; the third, 30 per cent., and the last 15 per cent. of all married women.

"According to this estimate nearly one-half the women are living lives that can be neither healthful nor congenial, and whose homes are lacking in a fundamental requisite for happiness." (*Sexual Life*, by G. W. Malchow, M.D., St. Louis, 1907, Chap. III, IX.)

One of the group facts of civilization, therefore, is the existence of a large percentage of frigid mothers bearing children not in obedience to their own sexual desires, but from other causes. A woman's frigidity, however, does not (as with man), impair or destroy her capacity for parenthood.

"A woman may fulfill her physiological function without any subjective sexual satisfaction, for neither sexual desire nor orgasm are necessary to fecundity, and that very many women of the better class do live thus passively is only too true, however sad it may be." (Malchow, *Ibid.*)

6. The evidence therefore is:

a. That, in civilization, the sexually frigid woman has become a type, which exists in numbers not only large enough to constitute a group, but to form a considerable percentage of all women.

b. That these numbers are sufficient to warrant the conclusion that, through intermarriage, the offspring of such women can and do continue their strain.

c. That, even where this direct continuation does not take place, their strain is extensively introduced into the strain of more ardent women, so as effectually to dilute the more ardent strains.

d. That, through their offspring, the race must be sensibly modified in respect to sexual passion.

e. That this effect is produced only as, when, and if, the sexually frigid woman becomes a mother. Avoidance of maternity terminates her strain and reduction of her fecundity *pro tanto* reduces it.

It is hardly necessary to add that the evidence as to the existence of the sexually frigid woman as a type is confined wholly to civilization; and to monogamy. All the evidence of uncivilized and polygamous peoples tends to prove that the type has never there existed in numbers sufficient to continue the frigid strain. Frigid women have appeared as individuals, but never in numbers sufficient to constitute a group, and therefore never capable of converting their individual strain of frigidity into a type.

7. Among savage peoples who remain savage, and among the uncivilized who are taking the earliest steps toward civilization, ardent women are perennially fruitful. They bear children in obedience to natural and subjective demands. They bear usually with little pain and little danger; they are consequently prolific and their strain tends naturally to multiply and to fill the land. Against this strain the frigid woman is in uncivilized times an unwilling and inefficient competitor. She willingly escapes maternity altogether; or she bears fewer children, and bears those with pain, difficulty and danger. To create from her individual strain a type, and to preserve this type by means of a group capable of perpetuation, requires outside influences of an extremely favorable character. The problem is one entirely of women; since frigidity in man constitutes impotence and

incapacitates him for parenthood, while in woman it does not. The first essential, to a favorable selection therefore, is that women shall be denied the privilege of choosing whether or not they will become mothers. If this choice is left to women, the frigid ones will escape maternity and at once extinguish their strain. The ardent ones will continue to multiply. It is plainly necessary that women as a group shall be selected for motherhood by influences other than their own choice, to avoid that adverse selective influence which would result from choice made by individual women themselves.[1]

8. History records three notable examples of women mated by groups under circumstances avoiding adverse individual selection. In each instance, the group was large enough to contain probably one or more individual women of sexual frigidity. In each instance, the terms of mating forbade these individuals to escape maternity. In each instance, after some generations, a very marked improvement in posterity is discovered, with one or more examples of distinguishable genius.

The first instance is the tribe of Benjamin in Israel. By a shocking crime, all Israel was roused to anger and slew of the tribe of Benjamin twenty-five thousand men and all the women and children.

"But six hundred men turned and fled to the wilderness unto the rock Rimmon, and abode in the rock Rimmon four months." (Judges, XX, 47.) These six hundred men were all that were left of the tribe of Benjamin.

"And the children of Israel repented them for Benjamin their brother, and said, There is one tribe cut off from Israel this day.

"How shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing

[1] "Group insurance must carefully guard against adverse individual selection. Hence the necessity for insuring the group on a basis which does not leave with the individual the power to decide whether or not he or she shall enter the group."

(Group Insurance by William J. Graham. *Transactions of the Actuarial Society of America*, Vol. XVII, Part II, No. 56, October, 1919.)

we have sworn by the Lord that we will not give them of our daughters to wives?

"And they said, what one is there of the tribes of Israel that came not up to Mizpah to the Lord? And, behold, there came none to the camp from Jabesh-gilead to the assembly.

"For the people were numbered, and, behold, there were none of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead there.

"And the congregation sent thither twelve thousand men of the valiantest, and commanded them saying, Go and smite the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead with the edge of the sword, with the women and the children.

"And this is the thing that ye shall do. Ye shall utterly destroy every male, and every woman that hath lain by man.

"And they found among the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead four hundred young virgins, that had known no man by lying with any male: and they brought them unto the camp to Shiloh which is in the land of Canaan.

"And the whole congregation sent some to speak to the children of Benjamin that were in the rock Rimmon, and to call peaceably unto them.

"And Benjamin came again at that time; and they gave them wives which they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh-gilead: and yet so they sufficed them not.

"And the people repented them for Benjamin, because that the Lord had made a breach in the tribes of Israel.

"Then the elders of the congregation said, How shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing the women are destroyed out of Benjamin?

"And they said, There must be an inheritance for them that be escaped of Benjamin, that a tribe be not destroyed out of Israel.

"Howbeit we may not give them wives of our daughters: for the children of Israel have sworn, saying, Cursed be he that giveth a wife to Benjamin.

"Then they said, Behold, there is a feast of the Lord in Shiloh yearly in a place which is on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah.

"Therefore they commanded the children of Benjamin, saying, Go and lie in wait in the vineyards;

"And see, and, behold, if the daughters of Shiloh come out to dance in dances, then come ye out of the vineyards, and catch you every man his wife of the daughters of Shiloh, and go to the land of Benjamin.

"And it shall be, when their fathers or their brethren come unto us to complain, that we shall say unto them, Be favorable unto them for our sakes; because we reserved not to each man his wife in the war: for ye did not give unto them at this time, that ye should be guilty.

"And the children of Benjamin did so, and took them wives, according to their number, of them that danced, whom they caught: and they went and returned unto their inheritance, and repaired the cities, and dwelt in them. (Judges XXI, 6–23.)

Israel was generally polygamous at that time. For some generations, monogamy was enforced on the tribe of Benjamin alone. Of these six hundred men each could obtain only one wife. It is probable that, for at least two or three generations, a natural equality in the numbers of the sexes enforced against Benjamin a practical monogamy. The wives obtained by the six hundred were mated and were made mothers regardless of their own choice, and, in the generations immediately following, it is probable that all the virgins were given in monogamous marriage, regardless of their own choice. Benjamin, therefore, for a considerable period was set apart from the other tribes of Israel, an insular monogamous community in which domestic usages effectually prevented any of its frigid women from escaping maternity.

Turn now to I Samuel, Chapter IX:

"Now there was a man of Benjamin, whose name was Kish, the son of Abiel, the son of Zeror, the son of Bechorath, the son of Aphiah, a Benjamite, a mighty man of power.

And he had a son, whose name was Saul, a choice young man, and a goodly; and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people." (I Samuel, IX, 1, 2.)

According to the accepted chronology, the civil war between Benjamin and the rest of Israel and the rape of the virgins of Shiloh occurred about B.C. 1406.

Samuel discovered and anointed Saul King of Israel,

B.C. 1095. So that about three hundred years elapsed from the beginning of a domestic usage which enforced in the tribe of Benjamin the reproduction of frigid women to the time when the elevation of this strain is advertised in the superior qualities of Saul. It is significant evidence of the strain of sexual coldness introduced into the tribe of Benjamin that Saul's daughter, Michal, should be recorded as "in love" with David.[1] (I Samuel, XVIII, 20.) This is the earliest Biblical record of a virgin being in love. Up to this point the descriptions of marriage indicate in women a subjective desire for mating and motherhood; but not a preference for one young man before others. Michal's love for David indicates in Saul's daughter the beginning of that partial coldness toward the other sex which distinguishes civilized from savage women. Passion instead of being only a subjective desire to mate with some man becomes a limited desire to mate with one man, the object of her affections.

9. The second instance is the Roman rape of the Sabines. Livy describes it thus:

"There was a great gathering; people were eager to see the new city, all their nearest neighbors—the people of Caenina, Antemnae, and Crustumerium—were there, and the whole Sabine population came, with their wives and families.

"When the hour for the games had come, and their eyes and minds were alike riveted on the spectacle before them, the preconcerted signal was given and the Roman youth dashed in all directions to carry off the maidens who were present. The larger part were carried off indiscriminately, but some particularly beautiful girls who had been marked out for the leading patricians were carried to their houses by plebeians told off for the task. One, conspicuous amongst them all for grace and beauty, is reported to have been carried off by a group led by a certain Talassius, and to the many inquiries as to whom she was intended for, the invari-

[1] She loved him before marriage and despised him afterward. Modern fiction sometimes deals with the same theme of wifely change toward a husband of coarser fibre. In "A Modern Instance" by W. D. Howells, Bartley and Marcia Hubbard are David and Michal over again in a setting of 19th Century Boston.

able answer was given, 'For Talassius.' Hence the use of this word in the marriage rites. Alarm and consternation broke up the games, and the parents of the maidens fled, distracted with grief, uttering bitter reproaches on the violators of the laws of hospitality and appealing to the god to whose solemn games they had come, only to be the victims of impious perfidy.

"The abducted maidens were quite as despondent and indignant." (Livy, Bk. I, Chap. IX.)

Here will be observed the mating of a group of women on terms identical with those just described in the case of the tribe of Benjamin. The Romans seized the Sabine virgins and made them mothers without their own consent. Roman marriage was monogamous. And for many centuries Roman custom continued to give virgins in marriage regardless of the bride's consent.

"It continues also a custom at this very day for the bride not of herself to pass her husband's threshold, but to be lifted over, in memory that the Sabine virgins were carried in by violence, and did not go in of their own will." (Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*.)

The number of virgins taken from the Sabines is variously given at from five hundred and twenty-seven to six hundred and eighty-three; thus the number was roughly about the same as with the tribe of Benjamin. The cumulative effect of the Roman marriage customs soon appears in an improved posterity. In three centuries, the Roman people achieved the hegemony of all the Latins; drove out their kings, and displayed an exalted spirituality celebrated in the stories of Horatius, Cincinnatus, Lucretia, and Virginia. In two more centuries they had conquered all Italy, met and beaten off the Greek phalanx, and the ambassador of Pyrrhus reported to his master that the Roman Senate resembled an assembly of kings. The old rowdy habits of the founders of the city had changed to a gravity and a decorum which impressed the whole world.

10. The third example of a like sort is the tribute of maidens paid by the Chinese to the Tartars. Gibbon describes it thus:

"A select band of the fairest maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns; and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was secured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the Imperial family which vainly attempted to escape the sacrilegious pollution. The situation of these unhappy victims is described in the verses of a Chinese princess, who laments that she had been condemned by her parents to a distant exile, under a barbarian husband; who complains that sour milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish that she were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country, the object of her tender and perpetual regret." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XXVI.)

This passage is repeated in nearly identical words in *Ghenko: The Mongol Invasion of Japan*, by Nakaba Yamada, N. Y., 1916. In this work, the date of this practice (not given by Gibbon), can be roughly approximated. It began in the tenth century, probably earlier than 960 A.D. Here, therefore, for a considerable period, there was annually introduced among the Mongol or Tartar chiefs (Gibbon uses Mongol, Tartar or Hun, indifferently, to denote the wild barbarians inhabiting eastern Siberia north of the Chinese wall), reluctant wives paid as a tribute, accepting maternity only by force and against their will. They were not given in monogamous marriage; but there is no doubt that the brutal vigor of their husbands was quite as effective as monogamy to enforce maternity upon them. Among the Tartars, therefore, there is introduced the same strain of sexual coldness, and by the same means as already observed among the first Romans and in the tribe of Benjamin. The effect was the same. About three centuries later, "Nature gave birth to a great warrior among the

Mongols, who, as the leader of the rising race, became the conqueror of the largest dominion a man has ever ruled." (*Ghenko*, supra.)

Of Genghis Khan Gibbon relates: "His birth was noble; but it was in the pride of victory that prince or people deduced his seventh ancestor from the immaculate conception of a virgin. His father had reigned over thirteen hordes which composed about thirty or forty thousand families; above two-thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son; and at the age of thirteen Temugin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects." (Gibbon, Chap. LXIV.) It appears, therefore, that he was of the blood of the reigning princes to whom the tribute of Chinese maidens had been paid. Timor, better known as Tamerlane, was of the same blood. "And in the ascent of some generations the branch of Timor is confounded, at least by the females, with the imperial stem." (Gibbon, Chap. LXV; see also the footnotes.)

It would, therefore, appear true of both these unusual men, that they had received from the enforced maternity of the Chinese tribute maidens the strain of sexual coldness indispensable to genius. The mental qualities of Genghis were very high, and were derived entirely through inheritance and not at all through environment or education. "The reason of Zingis was not informed by books; the Khan could neither read nor write." But "the Catholic inquisitors of Europe who defended nonsense by cruelty, might have been confounded by the example of a barbarian who anticipated the lessons of philosophy and established by his laws a system of pure theism and perfect toleration. His first and only article of faith was the existence of one God, the Author of all good, who fills by his presence the heavens and earth, which he has created by his power." (Gibbon, Chap. LXIV.) Gibbon also finds a singular conformity between the religious laws of Genghis Khan and John Locke.

11. Here are three striking examples of different races which, at different times and at widely separated parts of

the earth, have tried like experiments undertaking the selection of mothers on terms that avoid adverse individual selection by the women themselves. That is, each has effectually prevented cold women from escaping maternity, and, through their posterity, has introduced a strain of sexual coldness into the race. It is apparent that this one quality and no other, distinguished these mothers from others of their age and country. There is nothing to show that the virgins seized by the Benjamites were better than, or different from, the other virgins of Israel. What evidence there is on this point is rather to the contrary. Four hundred of these virgins were from Jabesh-gilead, the only camp of Israel which had not gone into the war against Benjamin. For whatever it is worth, therefore, this evidence indicates that the strain of Jabesh-gilead was either more cowardly, or was less aroused at Benjamin's crime, than the rest of Israel.

So with the Sabine virgins taken by the Romans. There is absolutely nothing to show that they were better than the other neighboring virgins who did not attend the festivities in Rome and who were not captured. As to the Roman men, the evidence is rather that they were worse than their neighbors. They were in such discredit among the surrounding populace that the neighboring peoples refused to give daughters to them for wives; as the other tribes of Israel had refused to give their daughters for wives to the tribe of Benjamin. In both these instances, therefore, there is no evidence of an existing superiority at the beginning. In both instances, several generations were to pass before any superiority was apparent.

Equally striking is the example of the tribute of Chinese maidens paid to the Tartar tribes. There is nothing to show that anything whatever except their repugnance for their husbands distinguished these from other Chinese maidens. Repugnance to their husbands must have existed, and the quotation from Gibbon shows that it did in fact exist. It existed in the case of the virgins seized by the Romans; and

it must have existed likewise in the case of those seized by the Benjamites. In all three cases, therefore, it is apparent that one and only one new and distinctive quality was introduced into posterity. That, whereas the offspring of other unions among their contemporaries would be born to a father and a mother both of whom were animated by sexual desire, in these three groups there were some offspring born to a father animated by sexual desire, and a mother who felt sexual repugnance. Some proportion of the daughters of such a union would inherit the mothers' repugnance. Conditions were so established that for generations none of these daughters could escape maternity. Inevitably, the strain of sexual coldness was, through their posterity, introduced into the race. In each case, the result was to augment the nervous structure and to produce some men of distinguished genius. The period of time which elapsed in each case (about 300 years) indicates about the period necessary to create and establish the type of sexual coldness among a group of women.

12. The evidence of these three examples warrants the following conclusions. In each case:

a. Like causes operated on a group. It is important to notice that the same effect would not have been produced by a like cause operating only on individuals; especially if such individuals were sufficiently separated so that their offspring did not continuously unite in marriage.

b. Adverse individual selection by women themselves of ardent ones for motherhood, and the colder ones for sterility was prevented.

c. The cold mother's productivity for her full child-bearing period was enforced; in Benjamin and Rome by monogamy, and in Tartary by the sexual prowess of the Tartar Chiefs.

d. Conditions favorable for the reproduction of cold women extended over many generations. This is very important, because, among primitive people, the strain of sexual coldness is extremely rare. If conditions favorable

for its reproduction continue no more than two or three generations, it will soon extinguish itself. In each of these examples, it was about three centuries before the cumulative selection from continuously favorable conditions was fully displayed in posterity.

e. Each group was sufficiently isolated to prevent for some generations the exogamous competition of ardent women. The strain of ardent women was, of course, introduced through the males of each group. Where this strain is brought in by ardent women, they tend to reproduce themselves and their own strain to the extermination of cold women. Where it is brought in by lustful men, they continue the cold strain by impressing maternity upon women colder than themselves.

f. All the conditions necessary for the creation, preservation, continuation and increase of the strain of sexual coldness were therefore present throughout a group large enough and a time long enough to allow the creation of a type.

g. In about three hundred years in each case, a marked improvement appeared. As would be expected, the time was shorter in the case of Rome than in the other two cases, because it is apparent that, in monogamous Rome, conditions favorable to reproduction of cold women were better than in the tribe of Benjamin or in Tartary. In Rome, these conditions likewise continued many centuries longer than in the other cases. The expected superiority of Rome actually appeared.

CHAPTER III

ISRAEL

13. The biblical history of the children of Israel affords interesting evidence that the strain of cold women, as long as it is preserved brings forth genius, and perishes after some generations of inherited polygamy. Noticeable in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, is a continence unusual in their place and time. Abraham, and Sarah, mother of Israel, were son and daughter of the same father, and different mothers. An inherited strain of sexual coldness is evident in both. In Abraham, it appears in an intellectuality exalted beyond its place and time—particularly in his conception of an invisible God. In Sarah, this evidence is found in her barrenness, and in the preservation of her youthful beauty to an advanced age—very unusual in Eastern women of the normal ardent type. She was wooed by great kings, but her heart and person were for Abraham alone. Contrary to the custom of the time they lived in monogamous marriage. At Sarah's request, he turned Hagar and Ishmael out into the wilderness. Finally, Sarah, by Divine intervention as both believed, conceived in her old age, and bore Isaac, her only child. This only son, by the cold Sarah, was chosen for heir of Abraham and father of Israel. All Abraham's sons by ardent women—by Hagar the Egyptian, by Keturah and by concubines—were cast out.

Isaac, forty years old at his marriage, found Rebekah his wife barren. Their marriage had been "arranged," not by courtship, or even acquaintance between them, but by Abraham's care that Isaac should not mate with any of the

daughters of Canaan. For a great race, the strain of sexual coldness must be preserved. Isaac and Rebekah, like Abraham and Sarah, lived together in monogamous marriage.

Like Sarah, Rebekah was partially cold; like Sarah she preserved her beauty to an unusual age, and after childbirth; (a sure mark of sexual coldness in women and very rare in the Orient); like Sarah, she conceived but once, and then, as Isaac believed, by Divine intervention. She was delivered of twin sons.

Esau, Isaac's favorite, was a hairy man, evidently reverting back to a primitive type. He stayed not his marriage for the wishes of his parents, or for distant kinswomen, but took plural wives of the daughters of the Hittites. No sexual coldness there. Jacob, younger twin, but favorite of Rebekah, preserving hers and Sarah's strain, was to be Israel. He did not marry among the daughters of the land. Going far away to his kinsfolk, he served Laban seven years for the daughter he loved, before she was given to him—a remarkable proof of continence, for the place, time and manner of life. There is no evidence that Jacob ever sought more than one wife. He was beguiled into marrying Rachel's elder sister, Leah. And through their mutual jealousies each gave him also her handmaid. But in spite of children by four women, the Biblical account is consistent with the belief that Jacob was spiritually monogamous, loved only one woman, and, like Abraham and Isaac, would have lived in monogamous marriage with her alone.

Of Jacob's four consorts three, Leah, Bilhah and Zilpah, were ardent, Rachel partially cold. Of the two concubines, the evidence is, that they willingly consented to their concubinage. One of them, moreover, was guilty of incestuous adultery. As to Leah, she conspired with her father to beguile Jacob into an unsought marriage, knowing that he loved Rachel. After bearing four sons to Rachel's none, she still gave Jacob her handmaid for more; she intrigued with

Rachel for Jacob's favors, and bought them with Reuben's mandrakes; and her personal description "tender-eyed" corroborates the other evidence of her ardent temperament.[1]

Rachel was of the type of Sarah and Rebekah. She was barren at first and conceived only after Divine intervention. In her second child-bed she died. In a long, intimate personal history of many generations, she is the only woman recorded to have died in child-birth. Clearly a different type from Leah and the concubines.

Leah bore Jacob seven children, six sons and a daughter[2]; Rachel only two, Joseph and Benjamin. Of Leah's seven children, not one became more than a shepherd, and the incontinence of three is recorded. Contrast the conduct of Reuben, Judah and Dinah, offspring of an ardent mother, with Joseph, the son of Rachel—all having the same father. In Joseph, are three generations of sexual coldness. His brethren are born of ardent women. They are shepherds in the field, incontinent, dishonest, envious, violent, given to rough jokes and horseplay, ill at a bargain, brave in a mob, cowardly alone, the ordinary type of yokel. Joseph, sold by them into slavery, is chaste, honorable, ingenious, successful, executive, a good business man, farsighted, forehanded, climbing to the top of every position. He carried into Egypt no other heritage than a strain of sexual coldness. And wherever that strain is scarce, no other heritage is needed by any man. He easily outstrips the sons of ardent women.

The dream of Joseph always comes true. As it was four thousand years ago, so is it now—the sons of Leah bow down

[1] With even a slight augmentation of the nervous organization, women's sexual desires, standardized among savages, begin the wide divergence which is seen in civilization. In this differentiation, the more ardent type is often marked by the "come hither" eye, or in modern American slang "goo-goo" eyes. It is as easily noticeable in modern civilizations as on the plains of Mesopotamia, forty centuries ago.

[2] Perhaps Leah bore more. Daughters are not usually mentioned and we learn of Dinah only because of her incontinence. But we know that Rachel bore only two because she died in child-bed with the second.

before the son of Rachel. The cold woman has few children, the ardent woman many. Sexual coldness promotes intellectual pre-eminence; intellectual pre-eminence brings wealth and power; so the few rule the many.

14. In Egypt, the strain of Sarah, Rebekah and Rachel soon dies out. Bondage, polygamy and hard manual labor extinguish frigidity in woman and multiply ardor. After a few generations, the midwives reported to Pharaoh: "The Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them." Then, as now, the landless agricultural serf or laborer breeds naturally, as do other mammals, through the desire of the female, and with little labor. Intellectual and spiritual stagnation results.

Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph were men of keen mentality, cunning, adroit, not worsted in bargaining. Though but shepherds, they were not embarrassed before the great; they met princes on equal terms. In Egypt, their descendants became bondsmen, servants, making bricks by tale. They were grievously oppressed; and they became humble, and inferior in everything but numbers. The paternal strain was still there. But the mothers of this generation were ardent women. The strain of Rachel had been extinguished. Led by Moses they were purged by hardships in the wilderness, where thousands were slain, and all the generation that left Egypt died. Again and again they showed their want of spirituality. They would not worship an abstraction, but builded a golden calf. They cried out to be restored to bondage if only they could get back to the flesh-pots of Egypt. Like Esau they were willing to sell their future for a mess of pottage. Wonders were shown them, but they soon forgot and ever demanded fresh wonders to believe on the Lord. Of the great majority it was but a sorry tale of the complete mastery of the flesh, against which the great spirit of Moses strove almost in vain,—indeed a graphic portrayal of helpless, carnal, idolatrous mankind, born of prolific, ardent women.

15. Up to the time of Israel's settlement in the land of Canaan, the point of chief interest in its history is that cold women have appeared as individuals, and have been impressed for maternity, so that individual instances of genius appear. Polygamy, however, prevented the formation of a group of cold women sufficiently large to preserve and to perpetuate their strain unimpaired. Sexual coldness appears in Miriam, sister of Moses, who died unmarried. In the land of Canaan, conditions were more favorable. The Children of Israel were no longer on rations. Land was divided and owned in severalty, and private ownership of property, which always favors the strain of sexual coldness, was established. As instance may be cited Jephtha's daughter, bewailing her virginity; a little more ardor, and less conscience, would have destroyed it; Samson's mother; Hannah, mother of Samuel; and Ruth, who would not follow young men, whether poor or rich, who refused to leave Naomi, to seek another husband, and who finally married the aged Boaz, thereby becoming mother of Obed, grandmother of Jesse, great-grandmother of David, and great-great-grandmother of Solomon. The tribe of Benjamin had become monogamous, and furnished Israel with its first king. And, that monogamy had become fairly extended, may be inferred from the last chapter of Proverbs. The virtuous woman praised by King Lemuel is plainly a monogamous wife.

16. Thus, civilization up to the reign of Solomon had achieved some rise. Polygamy, which, in an age of vigorous pioneers does not prevent the impressment of cold women for motherhood, became, after his reign, an inherited practice, along with inherited wealth. Inherited polygamy and inherited wealth together furnish to cold women an easy escape from child-bearing, so that from Solomon's reign on, the strain of sexual coldness was gradually extinguished; continence, intellect, and spirituality all declined together. Israel became abandoned to licentiousness. Two hundred years after Solomon's death, Amos accused women of pros-

tituting themselves in the temple. Isaiah left a picture of the "new woman" as she appeared to him; her ornaments, her gait, her manners, her vanity, her "stretched forth neck and wanton eyes." (Leah again.) At that period, as, later, did the waning civilizations of Greece and Rome, Israel produced women who were not *given* in marriage. They gave themselves, or they withheld themselves. And marriage was not for obedience, support or maternity, but to avert reproach. "And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, 'We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach.'"

So women began to propose, and to take the initiative in sexual union. Quickly the race deteriorated. In the next generations, only the ardent women bore children; cold women died childless. Faith, courage, cunning, the manifestations of intellect, conscience, spirituality, disappear. Soon Isaiah's prophecy was fulfilled: "Thy men shall fall by the sword and thy mighty in the war." Israel's glory had departed.

CHAPTER IV

HELLENES

17. Hellenic civilization presents a wide diversity:—

In point of time between the Greeks of the Homeric age, as portrayed in Homer's poems, and the Greeks of the historical age which began some centuries afterward.

The historical age presents again a diversity both of region and of time.

In respect to region, a marked contrast is shown between the concentration of intellectual brilliance of Athens and the Greeks subject to Attic influence and customs, and the intellectual barrenness of the Asiatic Greeks and the Spartans.

In respect to time, there is shown the rise of civilization evidenced by the Greek spirit of freedom and independence and the intellectual brilliance of the age of Pericles (which reached its zenith in the minds of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Euclid in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.), and the subsequent decline, when intellectuality, freedom, and independence vanished, and the Greeks become the servile subjects of foreign masters.

All these differences both of region and of time are, upon inspection, found to be traceable to differences in the institutions of marriage governing the selection of Greek mothers. When and where the selection of mothers is such as to impress maternity upon cold women, the Greek spirit is augmented; love of freedom and independence are displayed and intellect rises. When and where the institutions of marriage permit the adverse selection of ardent women for prolific motherhood, and cold women for sterility, there is

neither freedom, nor independence, nor agumentation of the intellect or spirit. Observe the historical evidence:—

18. *Homeric Age:* There is an interesting likeness between the Greeks portrayed in the poems of Homer, and the Hebrew patriarchs portrayed in the Book of Genesis. Homer's Greeks, like the Hebrews, interested the gods and are interested in the gods. That is, they communed partly with the spirit and were not moved wholly by the flesh. In both cases, the reader becomes acquainted only with the chief men of the times—men who had names. Nothing is written about the common people, unnamed and prolific (corresponding to the proletariat of Rome). In both cases, the chiefs were cunning, often unscrupulous, gaining their ends more by superior mental adroitness and the deception of others, than by brute force or by superiority of numbers. They were a minority; but through mental equipment they became a ruling minority. In both cases, the chiefs were monogamous to a degree unusual for the place and time. The Greeks were, on the whole, somewhat more monogamous than the Hebrew patriarchs. King Priam was the only polygamist among all the chiefs named in Homer. In both cases, there were among wives and daughters, examples of unchastity which husbands and fathers harshly resented. And, in both cases, the sexual coldness of some women was evidenced by their comparative barrenness and by the preservation of their beauty to a considerable age, and after child-bearing.

In the chapter on Israel, this sexual coldness has been instanced with Sarah and Rebekah. In Homer, it also appears.

"The Homeric families in general, however, were small. Nestor, indeed, had several sons, but Agamemnon had only one brother, Menelaus, and one son, Orestes. Menelaus had only one son, and him by a slave. Hector had but one son. Telamonian Ajax and his Locrian namesake had each a half-brother, but no brother by the same mother. Achilles and Diomed had no brothers. Telemachus was even more solitary: he himself was the only child of Odysseus and Penel-

ope; Penelope seems to have had no brothers and only one sister (δ 797): Odysseus also had one sister (ο 363) and no brother, and his father Laertes, too, was an only son (ω 117)." (Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, Chap. IV.)

Neither Odysseus himself, nor his wife, nor his father nor his son, had any brother. Of Grecian women's sexual coldness and the preservation of their beauty, to an advanced age, Penelope and her many suitors is the classic example. She was in all respects the counterpart of Sarah and Rebekah.

19. It is plain that, among the named men in Homer's poems, marriage institutions were well calculated to prevent the adverse selection of mothers. Girls were married early, and the choice of the daughter's husband was made by her father. Marriage was a bargain between the father of the bride and the father of the groom, or between the father of the bride and the bride-groom himself. Girls thus given at a tender age in monogamous marriage to a husband whom they obey, do not escape maternity, unless they are barren. Adverse individual selection by the woman herself, which would make ardent women fruitful, cold ones sterile, does not exist.

It is probable that, in Homer's time, these marriage customs, which enforced maternity upon women regardless of their individual choice, were already many generations old. In no other way is it possible to account for the considerable degree of sexual coldness and the comparative barrenness of many of the Homeric women. Like Jacob and Joseph, Odysseus exhibits the results of an ancestry, in which for some generations there had been a continuous union of ardent fathers and cold mothers. Instead of being descended, like the nameless common people of his age, from men and women both of whom were animated by sexual desire, he was descended from the continuous union of lustful men with cold women; so that sexual coldness and an augmented nervous organization, were imparted to him through his female ancestry. A similar thing may be said generally of the Homeric chiefs. They exhibit a spiritual augmentation

above the common herd because they are descended from a line of mothers who are sexually cold.

20. In the historical period, the Greeks, in respect to their marriage customs, are divisible into three general regions:

1. Asiatic Greeks:—where marriage customs were adapted to adverse individual selection of ardent women for marriage and fruitfulness, cold ones for sterility.

2. Sparta:—Spartan marriage was not so perfectly adapted to adverse individual selection as in Asia; but better adapted to it than in Athens.

3. Athens:—and all the Greeks who adopted Athenian marriage customs:—For the entire period up to about 400 B.C. (the age of Socrates and Plato) Athenian marriage customs forbade the sterilization of cold women; many ardent women were sterilized by prostitution; so that there was a favorable selection of mothers for about 300 years.

The augmentation of the Greek spirit and of the Greek intellect, reached its zenith in Athens, and the colonies where Athenian marriage customs prevailed. The rise of intellect in Sparta was very much less; and among the Asiatic Greeks, spiritual and intellectual ascendency was entirely lacking.

21. As to the Asiatic Greeks, observe the evidence of Herodotus. In describing the tomb of Alyattes in Lydia, he says:—

"It was raised by the joint labour of the tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and courtesans of Sardis, and had at the top five stone pillars, which remained to my day, with inscriptions cut on them, showing how much of the work was done by each class of workpeople. It appeared on measurement that the portion of the courtesans was the largest. The daughters of the common people in Lydia, one and all pursue this traffic, wishing to collect money for their portions. They continue the practice till they marry; and are wont to contract themselves in marriage." (*History of Herodotus*, Book I, Chap. XCIII.)

The marriage customs described by Herodotus, are perfectly adapted to insure marriage and fruitfulness to ardent women, and sterility to cold ones. The bride does not bring ignorance and virginity to the marriage bed; and she contracts herself in marriage instead of being given in marriage by her father. Girls who acquire full sexual knowledge and then marry, are those to whom sexual union is not repugnant. With the same knowledge and sexual repugnance they would remain unmarried. However uncertain individual action may be, it is certain that in the case of a group the marriage customs of Lydia as described by Herodotus would result in the adverse individual selection of mothers. There was no augmentation of the Greek spirit or intellect in Asia. They were held in contempt as the lowest of mankind. Manius Acilius, a Roman consul in the campaign against Antiochus, told his soldiers they need not fear "Syrians and *Asiatic Greeks*, the most unsteady of men, and born for slavery." (Livy, xxxvi, 17, B.C. 192.) They were still mean spirited when St. John the divine wrote to the Laodiceans·

"I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot."

"So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth."

"Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." (Revelation III, 15, 16, 17.)

22. There were no Spartan authors; and our knowledge of Sparta is derived entirely from non-Spartan sources. With respect to their women and to the terms of the marriage contract, it is clear that Spartan customs influenced a selection of mothers not so unfavorable as those of Lydia, but far less favorable than those of Athens. The women of Sparta were more independent, both in person and property, than other Grecian women; they were much less subject to

the will of fathers and husbands; they enjoyed greater freedom of choice for contracting marriage, and they suffered less restriction after marriage. In Sparta, therefore, unlike the rest of Greece, there was ample opportunity for adverse individual selection by women themselves of the ardent for fruitfulness and the frigid for sterility. The evidence on all these points is summarized in the following extracts from Grote's *History of Greece.*

"Of all the attributes of this remarkable community, there is none more difficult to make out clearly than the condition and character of the Spartan women. Aristotle asserts that in his time they were imperious and unruly, without being really so brave and useful in moments of danger as other Grecian females; they possessed great influence over the men, and even exercised much ascendency over the course of public affairs; and that nearly half the landed property of Laconia had come to belong to them. The exemption of the women from all control formed, in his eye, a pointed contrast with the rigorous discipline imposed upon the men,—and a contrast hardly less pointed with the condition of women in other Grecian cities, where they were habitually confined to the interior of the house, and seldom appeared in public. While the Spartan husband went through the hard details of his ascetic life, and dined on the plainest fare at the Pheidition or mess, the wife (it appears) maintained an ample and luxurious establishment at home, and the desire to provide for such outlay was one of the causes of that love of money which prevailed among men forbidden to enjoy it in the ordinary ways. To explain this antithesis between the treatment of the two sexes at Sparta, Aristotle was informed that Lycurgus had tried to bring the women no less than the men under a system of discipline, but that they made so obstinate a resistance as to compel him to desist.

"Pursuant to these views, the Spartan damsels underwent a bodily training analogous to that of the Spartan youth—being formally exercised, and contending with each other in running, wrestling, and boxing, agreeably to the forms of the Grecian agones. They seem to have worn a light tunic, cut open at the skirts, so as to leave the limbs both free and exposed to view—hence Plutarch speaks of them as completely uncovered, while other critics in differ-

ent quarters of Greece heaped similar reproach upon the practice, as if it had been perfect nakedness.

"Secret intrigue on the part of married women was unknown at Sparta; but to bring together the finest couples was regarded by the citizens as desirable, and by the law giver as a duty. No personal feeling or jealousy on the part of the husband found sympathy from any one—and he permitted without difficulty, sometimes actively encouraged, compliances on the part of his wife consistent with this generally acknowledged object. So far was such toleration carried, that there were some married women who were recognized mistresses of two houses, and mothers of two distinct families,—a sort of bigamy strictly forbidden to the men." (Grote, *History of Greece*, Part II, Chap. VI.)

"O. Müller remarks—and the evidence, as far as we know it, bears him out—that love marriages and genuine affection toward a wife were more familiar to Sparta than to Athens; though in the former marital jealousy was a sentiment neither indulged nor recognized—while in the latter, it was intense and universal." (*Ibid.*)

All the evidence summarized in the foregoing, points to one fact, namely, that, in Sparta, there was, to a greater degree than elsewhere among the European Greeks, an opportunity for women to exercise the adverse individual selection of ardent women for motherhood, and cold ones for sterility. Hence the significance of the fact that there was no Spartan literature. The intellectual activity of Athens and of all Greeks where Athenian marriage customs prevailed was unknown in the Peloponnesus.[1]

"And it is to be observed that the Spartan mind continued to be cast on the old-fashioned scale, and unsusceptible of

[1] "It was thus with Lacedonia which, in the midst of the most prodigious flight to which the human soul has ever risen—between Corinth and Alexandria, between Syracuse and Miletus—has left us neither a poet, a painter, a philosopher, an historian nor a savant; barely the popular renown of a kind of Bobillot who, with his three hundred men, met death in a mountain pass without gaining a victory."

(Pierre Louys, *Aphrodite*, Preface.)

modernising influences, longer than that of most other people of Greece. The ancient legendary faith, and devoted submission to the Delphian oracle, remained among them unabated, at a time when various influences had considerably undermined it among their fellow-Hellens and neighbors. But though the unchanged title and forms of the government thus contributed to its imposing effect, both at home and abroad, the causes of internal degeneracy were not the less really at work, in undermining its efficiency." (Grote, *History of Greece*, Part II, Chap. VI.)

Never having attained the intellectual heights of the other Greeks, the Spartans continued to decline. They saw their power extinguished by the Thebans, under Epaminondas; their numbers decrease, and their institutions decay; and they ended as the servile subjects of a tyranny which they could not throw off.

23. In Athens, the practice in the selection of mothers was a complete reversal of that in Lydia; and the position of women before and after marriage was again totally different from their status in Sparta. In the middle class, from which Athenian intellectual brilliance chiefly sprang, marriage customs were those described by Xenophon (*Economicus*) in the conversation between Socrates and Ischomachus.

"She was not quite fifteen at the time she wedded me and during the whole period of her life had been most carefully brought up to see and hear as little as possible, and to ask the fewest questions. At marriage her whole experience consisted in knowing how to take the wool and make a dress, and seeing how her mother's hand-maidens had their daily spinning tasks assigned them. And as regards control of appetite and self indulgence, she had received the soundest education, and that I take to be the most important matter in the bringing-up of man or woman."

It is evident that the bride, unlike the women of Lydia, brought to the marriage bed both virginity and ignorance; that she married young; that she had little will of her own, and was taught submission; that she was given in marriage

by her father without exercising her own choice; and that, united by indissoluble monogamous wedlock to a husband whom she obeyed, motherhood came to her not from her own desires, but by the will of others. There was, in consequence, no adverse selection of ardent women for motherhood, cold ones for sterility. Propagation was controlled by men, and women were their obedient instruments.

Athenian customs described by Ischomachus in the conversation with Socrates, were old and long established. These conditions made sexual coldness fruitful, and imparted its strain to posterity. The expected augmentation of the Greek intellect actually appeared. Galton names fourteen men of genius born in Athens during the century from 520 to 430 B.C.[1]

The favorable selection of mothers and the intellectual brilliance of the Greeks were not confined to Athens. Demosthenes, *In behalf of Phormion:*

"Socrates the banker, when liberated from his masters, just as this man's father, gave his own wife to Satyrus, who had formerly been his slave. Socles another banker gave his wife to Timodemus, who is still living but who was once his slave. Not only in our state, men of Athens, do persons engaged in this business follow this policy, but also in Ægina Strymodorus gave his wife to Hermæ, his own domestic, and after her death he gave his own daughter to the same person. In fact one would be able to mention many such cases."

Here there is evidence that women were married and made fruitful regardless of their own choice, and that the

[1] *Statesmen and Commanders:* Themistocles, Miltiades, Aristeides, Cimon, Pericles.

Literary and Scientific: Thucydides, Socrates, Xenophon, Plato.

Poets: Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes.

Sculptor: Phidias.

He reckons the free population at 90,000, renewed three times during this century, making 270,000 of whom males were one-half, or 135,000. The proportion, therefore, is one genius to ten thousand males.

custom extended to many parts of European Greece outside of Athens. It was a complete reversal of the Lydian customs described by Herodotus. As to the marriage of maidens in these parts of Greece, see the following from the letters of Alciphron, who represents conditions mainly of the fourth century B.C.

Glaucippe to Charope

"I can no longer contain myself mother, nor can I endure to marry the young man from Methymna, the pilot's son to whom my father betrothed me, since I saw the city youth at the Oschophoria, when you sent me to the city at the time of that festival. He is beautiful, O beautiful, mother and most sweet. He wears his hair in curls more charming than sea-moss; his smiles are fairer than the quiet sea, and the blue of his eyes is like the ocean when first lit up by the sun's rays. His whole countenance—one would say that the Graces, after bathing in the fount Argaphia, had left Orchomenus and were dancing on his cheeks. His lips he had tinged with roses taken from the bosom of Aphrodite. Either I must marry him, or in imitation of the Lesbian Sappho, will throw myself from the promontory, not of Leucas, but of Piræus.

Charope to Glaucippe

"You are mad, daughter dear, and entirely beside yourself. You need a dose of hellebore, not the ordinary kind but the sort that comes from Phocian Anticyra; for you ought to feel a maidenly shame, but have cast off all modesty. Compose yourself and thrust from your mind this mischief. For if your father should learn a word of this, he would without a moment's thought or hesitation throw you as food to the sea monsters." (*Hellenic Civilization*, Botsford & Sihler, Chapter XIV, Section 161.)

These letters show that the favorable selection of mothers has extended not only to parts of Greece outside of Athens, but also to classes of society below the rich. Glaucippe was betrothed to a pilot's son, implying a station of life that was not opulent. Her mother's sharp reply, when the maiden seeks to exercise her own choice in respect to her marriage, is abundant evidence that far from Athens and much below

the highest classes of society, the Greeks of this period had adopted marriage customs which effectually prevented adverse selection of ardent women for motherhood and cold ones for sterility.[1]

24. As noticed afterward in Roman civilization, there is a gradual transfer of the high quality of posterity to the provinces. Strict marriage customs are first adopted and first laid aside in the chief city and among the upper classes. As they extend to the provinces, and the classes below the highest, there follows an augmentation of spirit and intellect among the provincials, and a corresponding decline in the capital. This is clearly seen in Greece. Athens ceased to bear fourteen geniuses to a century, and Greek intellectual brilliance was then displayed by Aristotle, born in Stagira on the confines of Macedonia; Euclid of Alexandria, and Archimedes of Syracuse. These are the Grecian counterparts of the great men born in the Roman provinces after the decline of the spirit of the Roman at home.

In Plato's time, sexual coldness had progressed so far among the Athenian Greeks, that women and men wrestled together in the *palæstra*, naked. "And not only the young women, but even the more advanced in years, in the same manner as the old men in the wrestling schools when they are ridiculed and not at all handsome to the eye, yet still

[1] Herodotus gives the ancestry of Pericles for seven generations:

I. Andreas
II. Myron } Sicyonians.
III. Aristonymus
IV. Clisthenes
V. Agarista (married Megacles an Athenian)
VI. Hippocrates
VII. Agarista (married Xanthippus)
VIII. Pericles.

The marriage of the first Agarista is described: Her father Clisthenes expected to give her to Hippoclides, but changed his mind at the wedding feast, and gave her to Megacles. It is a fair inference that for seven generations before Pericles Attic marriage had been of this character—a transaction between father and son-in-law of which the bride was the subject matter.

fond of the exercise." "It is not long ago," says Plato, "since these things appeared base and ridiculous to the Greeks, which are only so now to the most of the barbarians, such as to see naked men." (Plato, *Republic*, 5th Book.) It is noticeable that, at this period of Greek culture, when science and philosophy had reached their height, "Platonic love" appeared as a possible and advantageous relation between men and women. The ideal of Platonic love between man and woman would be impossible in a primitive society where ardent women abound. However imperfectly carried out in practice, the existence of the ideal itself is strong evidence of the acquired sexual coldness of Greek women in the time of Plato.

As in all other civilizations, the augmentation of the nervous organization which followed compulsory motherhood appeared in the Greek women as well as in the men. The colder women strove continuously to be absolved from repugnant marriage and maternity.

About the fourth century B.C. there was in Athens, and soon afterward in the rest of European Greece, a perceptible modification of the ancient marriage customs. Women obtained new liberty. They could acquire property, enjoy independence, exercise a choice with respect to marriage, and seek divorce from unhappy marriages. In place of the indissoluble monogamous marriage, under which the continuous pressure of the husband's desires imparted fruitfulness to his wife for her whole child-bearing period, regardless of her own sexual ardor, looser relations became usual. "We take a courtesan for our pleasure," said Demosthenes (*Oration against Neairial*) "and a concubine to take care of us, a wife to give us legitimate children and a respected house." These customs in Greece had the effect of polygamous marriage elsewhere. Cold women escaped some of the pressure to which they had been subject in former generations. Fewer of them bore children, and these bore fewer children. Gradually the strain of sexual coldness became extinguished; and with its extinction perished the

intellectual brilliance and the high spirit of Greece. From that time, the fourth century B.C., when this *Oration against Neairial* was delivered, the Greeks became subjects of other masters.

CHAPTER V

ROME

25. The rise of Rome, and the unparalleled extent and duration of the Roman Empire, offer a unique opportunity for the study, in completed groups, of the causes which infallibly exalt the spirit of mankind, and for submitting to the test of evidence those laws which, with mathematical certitude, govern society's rise and fall. During the course of more than twenty centuries there may be traced, in a terrain and climate never very far from the Roman center, the domination of the Patrician order; the decline of the Patricians, and the rise and domination of lower orders; the decline of Rome and the bestowal of power upon the provinces; the decline of Roman and provincial paganism; the rise of a Christian population and the Christianization of the Empire; the decline of the Christian Empire, and the influx of barbarians; and, finally, the rise under Islam of a new civilization in the Western Province of Spain, synchronously with an uninterrupted decline of the old Christian civilization in the Eastern Empire. History confirms unfailingly the mathematical expectation that each group rose just so long as posterity was continuously improved by the enforced maternity of the cold women of that group, and that each group, in turn, declined, when domestic usages favored the extinction of cold women, and posterity was born chiefly or only to ardent or willing mothers.

26. During the period of civilization's rise, three forms of monogamous marriage were recognized at Rome.

I. When a woman cohabited with one man for the space of a year. This was called *usus*.

II. Marriage was a bargain and sale between the father (or one who stood *in loco parentis*) of the bride, and the groom or the groom's parents. The subject matter of the transaction was the bride; and by her tradition she passed from her father's to her husband's family, house and rule. This form of marriage was called *coemptio*.

III. Marriage was a religious ceremony performed by a priest. This marriage was called *confarreatio*.

The first form of marriage was very easily dissolved; in fact if monogamous cohabitation did not continue uninterruptedly for the space of a year, there was no marriage. Such voluntary union in trial marriage is more adapted to the sterilization of cold women, since they easily escape repugnant coverture. In this form of marriage, the advantages of monogamy over polygamy are at their lowest terms.

The second form of marriage described above, marks a long step in advance. Instead of a voluntary union between man and woman, animated by like sexual desires, it is a bargain between men, of which woman is the subject matter; her obedience is taken for granted, and her desires are not consulted. Instead of attaining the married state only after twelve months trial, and when the bride is no longer a virgin, her status as wife is attained immediately, and by a ceremony which is completed while she is still a virgin. Her repugnance to marital duties, which may come with her later knowledge, cannot dissolve the marriage, or diminish her fertility. This form of Roman marriage is identical with the form of marriage customary among the freemen of Hellas in the Homeric age, and afterwards in Germany and Scandinavia for a period of many centuries, covering both pagan and Christian times. If it is strictly monogamous, and is practiced continually for many generations, it gives to posterity the most favorable selection of mothers known to primitive mankind.

The third form of marriage had all the advantages of the

second, with the added advantage of spiritual authority, because it was a religious ceremony performed by the intervention of a priest. Marriages contracted by the other forms might more easily be dissolved; but marriage by *confarreatio* required the same solemnities (*Diffarreatio*) to divorce the parties.

Of these three forms of Roman marriage, it may be said that all were monogamous. But the first was simply a voluntary trial of the marriage state by a man and woman animated by like sexual desires, either of whom could within twelve months withdraw from the other and prevent the marriage from taking place. In the second, the consent of the bride was an act of obedience; her change of status from single to married was completed while she was still a virgin; there was usually a transfer of property; and divorce, although theoretically easy on the husband's petition, was in practice difficult, and, in fact, unusual. In the third form of marriage the tradition of the bride was a solemn religious ceremony and divorce was even more difficult, and more unusual.

27. It is plain that marriage by *confarreatio* was best, and marriage by *usus* least adapted to enforce compulsory maternity upon cold women. It would be expected, then, that, in the earliest period of Roman history, the difference between the orders of Roman society would correspond to the difference in their marriage customs; that the patricians, married by confarreation, would display an augmented nervous organization, and form a dominant caste; that the plebeians, married by voluntary cohabitation, would display a lower nervous organization and would be servient; that as plebeians gradually adopted the marriage customs of patricians, their improving posterity would attain the same spiritual stature and social rank as the patricians; that the group which first abandoned strict marriage customs would be the first to decline; and that a general abandonment of these customs would be followed by a general decline of all the Romans. The history of Rome exactly accords with

these expectations. There is evidence that marriage by *confarreatio* was practiced first by patricians, and afterward by plebeians; and that the spiritual stature of each group rose and fell in periods corresponding exactly to those of its marriage customs. Observe the following passage in the Annals of Tacitus, describing the manner of filling the office of High Priest of Jupiter:

"The custom had been to name three patricians, descended from a marriage, contracted according to the rites of CONFARREATION. Out of the number so proposed, one was to be elected. 'But this mode was no longer in use. The ceremony of confarreation was grown obsolete; or, if observed, it was by a few families only. Of this alteration many causes might be assigned; and chiefly the inattention of both sexes to the interests of religion. The ceremonies, it is true, are attended with some difficulty; and for that reason they are fallen into disuse.'" (Tacitus: *Annals*, Book IV, Ch. XVI.)

From this evidence, it is certain that, from the earliest times, the greatest sanctity and respect had attached to marriage by the rites of confarreation; and that this form of marriage was, during this period, first and continually practiced by the patricians. None but patricians could become priests or augurs; and, after the expulsion of the kings, the office of consul was likewise at first limited to the patrician order. As the High Priest must be born of a marriage by confarreation, it is certain that this was the rite of patrician marriage. For three centuries after the founding of Rome, a wide gulf separated patricians and plebeians, and even intermarriage was forbidden. The very names which distinguished the social orders are significant. For the patricians claimed to derive that title from the fact that they could cite a father—implying on the part of plebeians such loose sexual unions as made their paternity uncertain. Moreover, from an early age there had been applied to the lowest order of plebeians the name of "*proletariat*," a word that signified those who contributed to the state nothing but offspring.

It is clear that this describes a group which bore children easily, and in great numbers—hence a group containing ardent and willing mothers, bearing children with small heads, of inferior nervous organization, small spiritual stature, little intellect and no genius. This would accurately describe the Roman *plebs* in the first five books of Livy. In evil, as well as in good, the patricians of this period are distinguished by high spirit, indomitable will, and invincible courage, while the *plebs* are often cowardly, and often oppressed, but are unable to shake off the rule of the aristocratic order. During these years, custom, and, for much of the time, law, forbade intermarriage between the patricians and the *plebs*. It is reasonable to infer that the strict marriage laws of Numa were observed from the beginning by the patrician order, but only later and not so strictly by the plebeians. The rise and continual domination of the patrician order would result.

28. The laws of Numa made marriage monogamous; and, for many centuries, custom made it indissoluble. At twelve or thirteen years of age, the Roman virgin was given in marriage by her father to the husband whom he had chosen, and remained for the rest of her life within that husband's power, subject to his desires, and without appeal from his rule. Patrician marriage as it existed for about five centuries is accurately described in the following extracts from Mommsen and Ferrero.

"Public opinion demanded a relentless exercise of authority by fathers against their children or by husbands against their wives." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. I, Chap. I.)

"The individualistic conception of matrimony and of the family attained by our civilization was alien to the Roman mind which conceived of these from an essentially political and social point of view. The purpose of marriage was, so to speak, exterior to the pair." (Ferrero, *Women of the Cæsars*, Chap. I.)

"Although the Roman conceded many privileges and recognized many rights among women he never went so far

as to think that a woman of great family could aspire to the right of choosing her own husband." (*Ibid.*)

"Girls were taught to 'live always under the authority of a man, whether father, husband, or guardian, without the right to possess property, not even a dowry, to be gentle, obedient, and chaste, attentive only to housework and children.'" (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. I, Chap. I.)

"According to the earlier Roman view, the woman was not capable of having power either over others or over herself." (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Bk. I, Chap. V.)

"According to the old custom, the married woman was subject in law to the marital power, which was parallel to the paternal, and the unmarried woman to the guardianship of her nearest male *agnati* which fell little short of the paternal power; the wife had no property of her own, the virgin and widow had at any rate no right of management." (*Ibid.*, Bk. III, Chap. XIII.)

"The wife who was not in her husband's power was not a married wife but only passed as such." (*Ibid.*, Bk. I, Chap. V.)

"Every marriage concluded in the usual forms within this circle was valid as a true Roman marriage, and conferred burgess-rights on the children begotten of it. Whoever was begotten in an illegal marriage, or out of marriage, was excluded from the membership of the community." (*Ibid.*)

It is certain therefore, that there did not exist that individual selection by the woman herself, which subtracts sexual coldness from posterity by permitting cold women to remain childless, while ardent ones became mothers. Having no voice in the matter, and married too young to express a choice, even if she had one, each bride was given in marriage regardless of her own desires. For the rest of her life she had no escape from the married state; and monogamy effectually enforced her fecundity for the whole of her child-bearing age.

At the beginning of this group, the amount of sexual coldness was probably very little. The marriage system which history describes, would gradually increase it as generation followed generation. In time, the inherited trace of sexual coldness in the daughters of cold women,

continuously fructified by indissoluble monogamy, would establish a group of considerable numbers who owned a succession of two or more genetrices sexually indifferent or cold. The expected result would be a marked augmentation of the nervous organization of this group of Romans; consequent difficulty and danger in childbirth as children with larger heads were born; increase of marital unhappiness as repugnant conjugal duties were enforced on wives; an increase in the virtues of continence and chastity with a rise in the standards of decency and decorum. In short the result would be the improvement of posterity, and the rise of civilization.

29. Such being the effect which mathematical law would expect of Roman marriage on the Roman group, turn to the evidence of history, and see the expectation fulfilled.

Y.R. 250–*B.C.* 500

The year after, Poplicola was made consul the fourth time, when a confederacy of the Sabines and Latins threatened a war; a superstitious fear also overran the city on the occasion of general miscarriages of their women, no single birth coming to its due time. Poplicola, upon consultation of the Sibylline books, sacrificing to Pluto, and renewing certain games commanded by Apollo, restored the city to more cheerful assurance in the gods, and then prepared against the menaces of men. (Plutarch's *Lives*. Poplicola.)

The evidence of miscarriages, so frequent in this group of mothers as to be recorded in Roman annals, shows a greatly augmented nervous structure in the Romans.

To this period belong the stories of Lucretia; Clœlia; Horatius; Mucius; Lucius Brutus; Publius Valerius (Publicola); Coriolanus; the expulsion of the kings; the establishment of a republic; the defense of Rome against the Tarquins, aided by the Tuscan power, and the victory at Lake Regillus over the Latins. The matrons mourned Brutus and Publicola a whole year, each "because he had been such a determined avenger of violated chastity."

Evidence of the growth of sexual coldness in the Patrician group, through the continued enforcement of maternity upon cold women, is found in Livy's Book VIII, covering the period Y.R. 423 B.C. 330.

"The foremost men in the state were being attacked by the same malady, and in almost every case with the same fatal results. A maid-servant went to Q. Fabius Maximus, one of the curule ædiles, and promised to reveal the cause of the public mischief if the government would guarantee her against any danger in which her discovery might involve her. Fabius at once brought the matter to the notice of the consuls and they referred it to the senate, who authorized the promise of immunity to be given. She then disclosed the fact that the State was suffering through the crimes of certain women; those poisons were concocted by Roman matrons, and if they would follow her at once she promised that they should catch the poisoners in the act. They followed their informant and actually found some women compounding poisonous drugs and some poisons already made up. These latter were brought into the Forum, and as many as twenty matrons, at whose houses they had been seized, were brought up by the magistrates' officers. Two of them, Cornelia and Sergia, both members of patrician houses, contended that the drugs were medicinal preparations. The maid-servant, when confronted with them, told them to drink some that they might prove she had given false evidence. They were allowed time to consult as to what they would do, and the bystanders were ordered to retire that they might take counsel with the other matrons. They all consented to drink the drugs, and after doing so fell victims to their own criminal designs. Their attendants were instantly arrested, and denounced a large number of matrons as being guilty of the same offense, out of whom a hundred and seventy were found guilty. Up to that time there had never been a charge of poisoning investigated in Rome. The whole incident was regarded as a portent, and thought to be an act of madness rather than deliberate wickedness. In consequence of the universal alarm created, it was decided to follow the precedent recorded in the annals. During the secessions of the plebs in the old days a nail had been driven in by the Dictator, and by this act of expiation men's minds, disordered by civil strife, had been restored to sanity.

A resolution was passed accordingly, that a Dictator should be appointed to drive in the nail. Cnæus Quinctilius was appointed and named L. Valerius as his Master of the Horse. After the nail was driven in they resigned office." (Livy, Bk. VIII, Chap. XVIII).

30. Certain inferences from this evidence may be justly drawn:

a. It indicates a degree of marital unhappiness in Rome at this period unequalled in the annals of any other state at a similar period of civilization.

In all periods, to be sure, there have appeared individual cases of hate, lust, adultery and murder; but where ardent and willing women are mated, a joint conspiracy to destroy the marriage bond by murder is unknown. The annals of the Hebrews covering a period of progress similar to that attained by the Romans in the 4th century B.C., furnishes an intimate relation of crimes and offences, enriched with anecdotes of various persons in all classes of society. In all these annals there is nothing resembling this conspiracy of the Roman matrons.

b. The harshness of the husbands' rule and the obedience exacted of wives is not different in polygamy and monogamy except in one respect. Polygamy affords to cold women a possible escape from repugnant marital embraces. In monogamy there is no such escape. It is a reasonable deduction that the crimes of the Roman matrons at this time, unique in the annals of similar stages of civilization, were inspired by a peculiar hatred engendered not from that obedience to the husbands' commands, which they paid only in common with all wives, but by the unique obedience demanded of them as the result of a monogamous union into which they had been forced against their will. The subjection of women to rude husbands in polygamous marriage is, in respect to sexual intercourse alone, much less than it is in monogamous marriage.

c. It is a reasonable inference that marital unhappiness in Rome had reached considerable proportions before the

date of the discovery of this conspiracy; and that it extended to a much larger number of women than the 170 who were actually found guilty of seeking to poison their husbands. Hence, it is also reasonable to infer that the Roman marriage customs had at this period created an extensive strain of sexual coldness among women, not observable in any other people at a like stage of civilization; and never observable among polygamous people.

d. It is apparent, therefore, that the chief difference between Rome and the neighboring states was the sexual coldness of the Roman matrons. In race, climate, and visible culture they were much the same. But the Roman selection of mothers had created for Rome a strain of sexual coldness unknown to any of its contemporaries. No similar group of matrons, conspiring to poison their husbands, is mentioned in any of the annals of that time or had ever been heard of in any neighboring land. The Romans thought it a portent; and performed the expiatory ceremony of driving in a nail. Had a like incident occurred at other times or at other places, this conspiracy would not have thus impressed the Roman mind.

31. History affords equally satisfactory evidence that plebeians gradually followed the marriage customs of the patricians. It is convenient to set this forth in its chronological order.

Fifth century B.C. (*Y.R.* 310)

Intermarriage between patricians and plebeians was first allowed, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the patricians, who complained "that intercourse between commons and patricians might be made common after the manner of wild beasts." The language of their expostulation itself implies a strong sense on the part of the patricians of the looseness of plebeian marriage customs. It is evident however that they had begun to improve, and that the improvement continued.

Fourth century B.C.

Two generations later, a daughter of the Fabii, a patrician house, was married to a distinguished plebeian. Led by the patrician father-in-law and plebeian son-in-law, a campaign to have one of the consuls elected from the plebeian order was carried on for ten years, and was finally successful. (*Y.R.* 378–387)

Third century B.C.

At the beginning of this century, there were plebeians of consular and triumphal rank, "to the completion of whose honors nothing was now wanting but the offices of the priesthood which were not yet laid open to them." The law was then carried to make plebeians eligible to the offices of pontiff and augur, and the first plebeians were invested with these dignities in the Y.R. 453.

It is clear that the foremost plebeians now practiced the rite of marriage by *confarreatio*, otherwise they would not have been eligible to the priesthood.

Three years later the plebeian matrons dedicated a chapel to, and began the worship of the plebeian Goddess of Chastity (Y.R. 456).

"Several portents occurred this year and, with the view of averting them, the senate passed a decree that special intercessions should be offered for two days. The wine and incense were provided at the public cost, and both men and women attended the religious functions in great numbers. This time of special observance was rendered memorable by a quarrel which broke out amongst the matrons in the chapel of the Patrician Pudicitia, which is in the Forum Boarium, against the round table of Hercules.

"Verginia, the daughter of Aulus Verginius, a patrician, had married the plebeian consul, L. Volumnius, and the matrons excluded her from their sacred rites because she had married outside the patriciate. This led to a brief altercation, which, as the women became excited, soon blazed up into a storm of passion. Verginia protested with perfect truth that she entered the temple of Pudicitia as a patrician and a

pure woman the wife of one man to whom she had been betrothed as a virgin, and she had nothing to be ashamed of in her husband or in his honourable career and the offices which he had held. The effect of her high-spirited language was considerably enhanced by her subsequent action. In the Vicus Longus, where she lived, she shut off a portion of her house, sufficient to form a moderately sized chapel, and set up an altar there. She then called the plebeian matrons together and told them how unjustly she had been treated by the patrician ladies. 'I am dedicating,' she said, 'this altar to the Plebeian Pudicitia, and I earnestly exhort you as matrons to show the same spirit of emulation on the score of chastity that the men of this City display with regard to courage, so that this altar may, if possible, have the reputation of being honoured with a holier observance and by purer worshipers than that of the patricians.' The ritual and ceremonial practised at this altar was almost identical with that at the older one; no matron was allowed to sacrifice there whose moral character was not well attested, and who had had more than one husband. Afterwards it was polluted by the presence of women of every kind, not matrons only, and finally passed into oblivion." (Livy, Bk. X, XXIII.)

32. The chronology and causes of patrician and plebeian rise in the Roman state, are now plain. The patricians had long practiced those marriage customs which impressed their cold women for maternity. The result was so to augment their nervous organization that they assumed the leadership in Rome; conquered neighboring states; suffered increased difficulty upon the part of the mothers in bearing children, because of the larger heads; witnessed a conspiracy of matrons to escape repugnant coverture by poisoning their husbands; and imparted such sexual coldness to posterity that a patrician Goddess of Chastity had long been worshiped. Three centuries after the founding of Rome, patrician marriage customs had spread to the lower ranks of society; daughters of patrician houses were given as wives to the leading plebeians; their posterity became consuls, triumphators, augurs, pontiffs; and one hundred and fifty years after the commencement of their

intermarriage with patricians, plebeian matrons began the worship of the plebeian Goddess of Chastity. At the end of the fourth century B.C., therefore, the strict customs of Roman marriage by *coemptio* or *confarreation*, which resulted in the impressment of cold women for motherhood, had become a general custom in all orders of society.

The conspiracy of the patrician matrons to poison their husbands, and the beginning of the worship of the plebeian Pudicitia, occurred thirty-three years apart, near the end of the fourth century B.C. Children born at this time were to constitute the generation of fighting men with which Rome began the third century. It is from this date that the grandeur of Rome approaches its height. The same book of Livy which records the conspiracy of the Roman matrons relates also the changes in the Roman military system and the new formation and perfection of the Roman legions. In the century between B.C. 300 and 200, the Romans fought the third Samnite War, vanquished the Italian Celts, and conquered Italy; drove Pyrrhus out of Italy; and waged two Punic wars, ending with the victory over Carthage at Zama. They began the century a small Italian state surrounded by Italian enemies. They ended it masters of Italy, of Sicily, of Sardinia, of Spain, and of a part of Africa.

33. In the course of the third century B.C. the leading plebeians had become in all respects the equals of the proudest patrician families. Every office, dignity, and rank was open to them. They took their places in the Senate, led Roman armies in the field, became censors, high priests, and augurs, vowed and dedicated temples for public victories, and devoted themselves for the public weal. The plebeian group itself had ceased to be fungible. Its differentiation created on the one hand a new nobility, vying with the old in rank, honors, and wealth, and on the other a proletariat, the "rabble of the forum" which (to prevent the elections remaining in the hands of the lowest of the people) were purged from the rest of the tribes and thrown into four,

called the city tribes. At the beginning of the second century B.C., the ancient names "patrician" and "plebeian" had become almost meaningless. One of the latter might point to an ancestry and honors more conspicuous than one of the former.

It was during the second century B.C. that the orders gradually changed places. The plebeian order, more numerous and perennially recruited from its own proletariat maintained the position it had gained. The patrician order, less numerous and without a proletariat to draw upon, declined. The beginning of this century witnessed the commanding position and victories of Fabius Maximus, and Scipio Africanus, of the most ancient patrician line. The end of it saw Rome saved from the Cimbri by the plebeian Caius Marius, who, the son of a poor laborer, had begun his military career as an enlisted man. That the standing of the plebeians during this century remained unchanged, was due to the same factors which had caused their rise. These factors, spreading gradually downward through a group which had already differentiated, constantly inspired each stratum of their descent. So that an improving plebeian strain was continuously rising to replace declining strains above. The point of real interest in the revolution of Roman society during this century is the decline of the patricians. And this, as would be expected, was governed by mathematical law.

34. At the beginning of the second century, the emancipation of women began.

"Women began to aspire to independence in respect to property, and getting quit of the guardianship of their *agnati* by evasive lawyers' expedients—particularly through mock-marriages—they took the management of their property into their own hands, or, in the event of being married, sought by means not much better, to withdraw themselves from the marital power, which under the strict letter of the law was necessary." (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Bk. III, Chap. XIII.)

Between 200 and 170 B.C., according to Ferrero, "among the nobility, many women won a large measure of liberty; they rid themselves at last of the perpetual guardianship of a husband and secured the free administration of their dowry. Divorce and breaches of the marriage tie became far more numerous, while meetings of the family tribunal were now almost unknown." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. I, Chap. II.)

Thus, in this period, chiefly among the aristocracy, there occurred changes in the domestic usages which, for five hundred years, had successfully prevented the adverse individual selection of ardent women for motherhood and of cold women for sterility. Emancipated from the control of father and husband, possessed of property and economic independence, cold women could now avoid repugnant coverture and refuse to become mothers. The change undoubtedly occurred first among the rich—especially among families of inherited wealth. Not only is this inferred by *a priori* reasoning—since property rights would not make women independent where there was no property—but there is direct evidence of it. In B.C. 169, the Senate "resorted to the extravagant expedient of prohibiting by laws the testamentary nomination of women as heirs and even sought by a highly arbitrary practice to deprive women, for the most part, of those collateral inheritances which fell to them without testament." (Mommsen, Bk. III, Chap. XIII.) The law was powerless to reduce women to the position they had occupied one hundred years before, but its enactment serves to identify the class whose women were first made independent. It was the old and rich aristocracy.[1]

35. The extinction of a strain of sexual coldness is naturally much more rapid than its creation. It is necessarily created slowly by the union of chaste and obedient wives with lusty husbands in permanent mono-

[1] (The Voconian Law will be found in Livy, Bk. XLI, Chap. 28.)

gamous wedlock, and the unbroken continuation of such unions in the same group for several successive generations. For five centuries, this had actually taken place in the Roman patriciate. In all the period after the age of Plato such conditions existed nowhere in the ancient civilized world except in Rome. In Rome, after the emancipation of women, it soon disappeared from the upper classes. Women no longer obeyed either father or husband. The duties of motherhood instead of being assigned to them as formerly by paternal command, and enforced by virile power, were taken up or laid down at will. Marriages became unfruitful, and celibacy common. "Men excused their celibacy by referring to the growing independence of women, which made her character more imperious, her desires more extravagant, and her selfishness more capricious." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. V, Chap. III.) Wives felt bound to disobey their husbands in order to avoid the accusation of vulgarity. The result was a profound change in the Roman aristocracy. From one and the same cause its numbers decreased and its character declined. Its marriage customs for five centuries had diffused among its women a strong strain of sexual coldness. The first effect of the new independence was that they refused motherhood, and so diminished the numbers of their posterity.[1] The second effect was, that those who became mothers did so from desire rather than from obedience, and so debased the character of their posterity. In

[1] "Granted that there were still large families in Italy, no member of the little Roman oligarchy which professed anxiety for the restoration of tradition, set any example of the kind; Augustus and Agrippa had but one daughter respectively; Marcus Crassus, the son of the millionaire triumvir, had but one son; Mæcenas had no children, nor had Lucius Cornelius Balbus, who was a bachelor; Marcus Silanus had two children, Messala, Asinius and Statilius Taurus had three. The families of seven or eight children, once numerous were no longer to be found; men thought that their duties to the republic had been fulfilled with a family of one or two, and many people attempted to avoid even this humble duty." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. IV, Chap. IX.)

a few generations, the descendants of the patrician order, bearing the ancient family names, were quite changed. Their ancestry on their fathers' side was the same. On their mothers' side instead of being descended from generations of cold and obedient women, their nearest genetrices had been independent and had been inspired only by desire.

At the beginning of the third century B.C. his ambassador reported to Pyrrhus that the Roman senate seemed an assembly of kings. At the beginning of the second century, the emancipation of women in the aristocracy began an adverse selection of mothers. At the end of this century the spiritual debasement of the aristocracy was complete. It had become dissolute, cowardly, and venal, and the African chief Jugurtha, after bribing many of the principal senators, exclaimed, "Oh venal city! Doomed to quick perdition could but a purchaser be found!"

"The whole nation was in a state of intellectual and moral decline, but especially the upper classes. The aristocracy before the period of the Gracchi was truly not over-rich in talent, and the benches of the Senate were crowded by a pack of cowardly and dissolute nobles. Henceforward rancour always, and terror wherever they durst, characterized the government of the lords of the old nobility. In fact, if a couple of centuries earlier the senate resembled an assembly of kings, these their successors played not ill the part of princes. But the incapacity of these restored aristocrats was fully equalled by their political and moral worthlessness. If the state of religion, to which we shall revert, did not present a faithful reflection of the wild dissoluteness of this epoch, and if the external history of the period did not exhibit the utter depravity of the Roman nobles as one of its most essential elements, the horrible crimes, which came to light in rapid succession among the highest circles of Rome, would alone suffice to indicate their character." (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Bk. IV, Chap. IV.)

"Certainly all the evils of the government were therein brought to light in all their nakedness; it was now not

merely notorious but, so to speak, judicially established that among the governing lords of Rome everything was treated as venal—the treaty of peace and the right of intercession, the rampart of the camp and the life of the soldier; the African had said no more than the simple truth, when on his departure from Rome he declared that, if he had only gold enough, he would undertake to buy the city itself. But the whole external and internal government of his period bore the same stamp of miserable baseness." (*Ibid.*)

At this period the patricians in Rome had become miserable, crawling, worthless wretches. It was the common people who felt the inspiration and lived up to the ancient name of Rome.

"Public opinion in Italy was vehemently aroused against the equally corrupt and pernicious governing aristocracy and broke out in a storm of prosecutions which, fostered by the exasperation of the mercantile class, swept away a section of victims from the highest circles of the nobility." (*Ibid.*)

36. The decline of the patrician order, which began during the second century B.C. from a change in the selection of mothers, continued to be not only uninterrupted, but even accelerated in the first century. Corruption, treachery, violence, murder, civil war, proscription, and confiscation, fill history's pages during this era. Three times the senate was purged. In B.C. 115, thirty-two senators were expelled; in B.C. 81, most of its members having perished, the senate was filled from the equestrian order; and in B.C. 69, sixty four senators were expelled. But in a continually declining posterity temporal remedies are of no avail. Each successive generation is worse than its progenitors. The Republic was destroyed and was followed by a dictatorship; after the dictator came a triumvirate who parcelled out between themselves the Roman world; and the triumvirate was followed by an imperator, sealing the Republic's doom. The old nobility became abject, servile, Asiatic;

and Asiatic relations between rulers and ruled appear. The sense of private property, and the rights of persons and property as against the state, were lost. Agrarian laws were passed, and were succeeded by enormous seizures and confiscations, which swept private fortunes out of existence. Men held their lives and their property at the ruler's will. Invisible deities were no longer worshiped, and instead of temples to Chastity, Piety, Virtue, Courage, and Fear, statues of Cæsar and Augustus were solemnly dedicated to public worship, and they, themselves, deified and elected to heaven by a formal vote.[1]

It would be expected that history recording so complete a reversal in the character of the Roman aristocracy, would record in their marriage customs a reversal equally complete. This expectation is exactly fulfilled. The ancient forms of marriage that distinguished patricians and plebeians may still be traced; but now patricians had adopted the marriage customs of the proletariat.[2] Wedlock became simply the voluntary union of man and woman animated by the same

[1] "Cæsar allowed honours to be bestowed on him which were too great for mortal man; a golden throne in the House and the judgment seat; a chariot and litter (for carrying his statue among those of the gods) in the procession at the circus; a special priest, and an additional college of the Luperci, and the calling of one of the months by his name."

"He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was numbered among the gods, not only by a formal decree, but also in the conviction of the vulgar." (Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar* (*Lives of the Cæsars*), Bk. I, LXXVI, LXXXVIII.)

[2] "Among the proletariat free love has never been regarded as sinful. Where there is no property which is capable of being left to a legitimate heir, where the appeal of the heart draws man and woman together, from the very earliest times people have troubled themselves little about the blessing of the priest; and had it not been that at the present day the civil form of marriage is so simple, whilst, on the other hand, there are so many difficulties placed in the path of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, who can tell if the modern proletariat would not long ago, as far as they themselves are concerned, have abolished marriage?" (A. Blaschko, *Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century*, Berlin, 1902.)

desires, continued during their mutual pleasure, and dissolved at will.

"Amid these painted Graces no refuge could be found for the traditional love, which was merely the civic duty of perpetuating the race in lawful wedlock; they would harmonize only with the new love, the love of intellectual civilisation refined by a thousand artifices, which was nothing more than the selfish enjoyment of mind and body. In these magnificent dwellings was concluded an evolution which had transformed the family within four centuries and changed the strength and rigidity of a despotic organisation into the freest form of sexual union ever seen in western civilisation, comparable rather to that free love which some modern socialists regard as the marriage of the future. Rites and formalities were no longer necessary; marriage depended upon mutual consent, a certain level of moral dignity, and, in Roman phrase, upon 'marital affection'; it could be dissolved for incompatibility of temper, mutual indifference or unworthy conduct. The only outward and visible sign of the union, though even this was rather a matter of habit than a legal necessity, was the dowry. If a man took a free woman of honourable family to live with him, the act made them man and wife and their children legitimate; if the marriage state proved displeasing, they separated and the marriage was dissolved. Such, in its essential features, was marriage in the age of Augustus. Henceforward in the family the woman was almost entirely free and equal to the man. Of her old eternal tutelage nothing remained but her obligation to be supported by a guardian when she had no father or husband and wished to make a contract or a will, to begin a lawsuit or sell a *res mancipi*. Considered as such, there was a certain grandeur and nobility in this form of marriage; but it marked the downfall of family life, since the women of the upper classes had lost the old feminine virtues of modesty, obedience, industry and self-respect." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. IV, Chap. IX.)

37. If the general decline in the Roman patriciate was due to a general change in the selection of patrician mothers, then it would be expected that in families where the change did not take place the decline would not appear. Gene-

trices of the old-fashioned type would still bear Romans of the ancient spiritual stature; and, as the strain of sexual coldness was carried through additional generations of mothers, their descendants should show a nervous organization even more augmented, and genius in these families should rise higher than before. The lives and character of Julius Cæsar and of Octavianus, his nephew, fulfill this expectation.

There is evidence that the mother of Julius Cæsar was of the old-fashioned type, and adhered to the old ideals of obedience.

"In many of the noble houses there were still Roman matrons, like the mother of Cæsar, who lived in a primitive and old-world simplicity, even preferring to keep up the old-fashioned pronunciation of Latin, which had long ago become clipped and vulgarized by the cosmopolitan chatter of the tavern and the market place." (Ferrero, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Chap. VII.)

"So long as he lived he cherished the purest veneration for his worthy mother, Aurelia (his father having died early)." (Mommsen, Bk. V, Chap. II.)

He was the highest nervous organism, therefore the greatest genius, that the Roman patriciate produced. Octavianus was descended on his father's side from plebeian blood, his grandfather having been a usurer at Velletri; but, on his mother's side he seems to have descended by uninterrupted female descent from the ancient patrician strain, unimpaired by the corruption of sexual desire. His mother was the niece, his grandmother the sister, and his great-grandmother the mother of Julius Cæsar. There is evidence that he inherited the superior nervous structure noticeable in the descendants of cold women; and that amid the riot of wealth and luxury which prevailed in Rome he preserved puritanical ideals, ancient virtues, frugal habits and the best traditions of the old Roman aristocracy. This evidence may be found in the following extracts from Ferrero:

"Octavianus seems to have been seized with a transport of madness marked by alternating fits of mildness and ferocity. Nor is the fact difficult to explain in the case of a young man unused to violent scenes. From an early age he had been one of those nervous and delicate children brought forth by a corrupt, refined and exhausted civilization; his health was sickly and feeble, his intelligence precocious, and his mother and grandmother had watched over him with most careful attention. At the age of thirteen, he had been regarded as a prodigy of learning and had even made a speech in public; so he quickly developed into a thoughtful and studious young man, careful of his health, drinking little wine, and unwilling to leave his books and his favourite teachers, Athenodorus of Tarsus and Didymus Areus." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. III, Chap. XI.)

Of these twelve children, the first nine of pure Roman blood, had already been subjected by Augustus to the traditional course of education; the girls went to the loom and the boys to war from an early age. Though they were carefully instructed, both boys and girls, in literature and philosophy, the *princeps* declined to wear any togæ except those woven in his own house by his own women, according to the practice of the great lords in the aristocratic period." (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Chap. IX.)

"Augustus was urged to pass laws against luxury, immorality and celibacy, and to re-establish the traditional supervision of private morality, which had long been entrusted to the censors by the aristocracy. But theory on this subject was easier than practice. Augustus was himself fully inclined to satisfy the new puritans. As we should now say, he was a thorough traditional conservative by character and training; he preferred simplicity and economy to luxury and extravagance; he was an admirer of Cicero, brought up in a middle-class family, and had lived among that section of the Roman aristocracy where ancient traditions had been best preserved. To one of these families his wife, Livia, also belonged, and her influence over him was always very great." (*Ibid.*, Chap. VIII.)

Such evidence warrants the inference that, where the character of mothers did not change, their sons remained

unimpaired. Neither power, wealth nor luxury could overthrow the solid character of Romans who were still descended from saintly mothers.

38. The last decades of patrician rule were marked by the contest for supremacy between the Julian and Claudian families. The last of the patrician emperors was Nero. At his death, in the first century A.D., the cycle of the ancient patrician group was complete. In the course of eight hundred years, six centuries had seen its rise by the continuous improvement of each generation of its posterity through the honorable conscription of its cold women for maternity. Two centuries saw this conscription cease, and the patrician order fall. Long before Nero's time they had ceased to rule as a group, but still furnished Rome with individual rulers. After Nero, the sceptre passed altogether. Neither as a group, nor individually, did any patrician wield again the imperial power. Future emperors rose from other classes of society, and from other parts of the empire. The downfall and complete destruction of the Roman patriciate, had followed inevitably the adverse selection of its women for motherhood.

39. While the women of the patrician order, emancipated and independent, were refusing compulsory motherhood, and, gradually, were adopting the free marriage customs of the proletariat, the Roman middle class preserved its ancient virtues, and the ancient forms of Roman marriage which made their cold women fruitful. In the second century B.C. the causes which corrupted the aristocracy had not yet attacked this middle class.

"It is true that those plebeians who remained in the country still lived a sober and honourable family life, after the manner of their fathers, respecting, with equal simplicity, the nobility and the law." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. I, Chap. II.)

This class furnished the new leaders; and, rising rapidly to power, supplanted the old aristocracy. From the middle of

the second century B.C., the patrician order continuously declined, while the plebeian group continuously advanced. Plutarch relates that Appius Claudius, of the proudest patrician family, seeking a husband for his daughter, chose Tiberius Gracchus, of a plebeian *gens*, as the best young man in Rome. In B.C. 131 there were elected two plebeian censors, something that had never happened before. Near the end of this century when the patrician senate had become corrupt, worthless, and thirty-two senators had been expelled, the ancient Roman spirit was still displayed by the middle class. They prosecuted and punished the venal senators, carried on the African war, and Jugurtha was finally vanquished and captured by the plebeian Caius Marius. At the close of the century, this same Caius Marius defeated and triumphed over the Cimbri, a vast host that had threatened the safety of Rome itself. "The principal men in the state, who were for some time extremely envious that such distinction should be conferred upon a man of no family, now acknowledge him to have saved the commonwealth."[1]

In the next twenty years, the ancient aristocracy was nearly destroyed by civil wars, their property was seized and sold, and, in B.C. 81, the senate was filled up from the equestrian order. In the same year, Cneius Pompeius triumphed over Africa, "although no more than twenty-four years of age and only of equestrian rank, which never happened to any man before." This was Pompey the Great; and it is worth mention that, in the wars and politics of the first century B.C., the great figures are men of new family risen from below, not descended from the ancient

[1] "He was born of parents altogether obscure and indigent, who supported themselves by their daily labour; his father of the same name with himself, his mother called Fulcinda. He had spent a considerable part of his life before he saw and tasted the pleasures of the city; having passed previously in Cirrhæaton, a village of the territory of Arpinum, a life, compared with city delicacies, rude and unrefined, yet temperate, and conformable to the ancient Roman severity." (Plutarch's *Lives*, Caius Marius.)

aristocracy. Ventidius, another plebeian, was the only man that had yet triumphed for victories obtained over the Parthians.[1]

Dio's *Roman History* declares that Augustus "feared that Mæcenas, to whom on this occasion also Rome and the rest of Italy had been entrusted, would be despised by them inasmuch as he was only a knight." The knights were the highest order of the people below the patricians, so that this sentence furnishes evidence first, that the people were accustomed by tradition to look up with confidence and respect to the rule of the patrician order, and second that, by the time of Augustus, the leadership had passed from that order to the knights.

40. No less notable than the rise of leading plebeians to command, is the improvement of the Roman common soldier. He was still drawn from Italy, was born of the ancient marriage customs, and either of Roman or Latin stock. In the first century B.C., he fought over a wider area of the globe and against more varied enemies than ever before. His conquests carried him to the farthest limits of Gaul and Spain; he triumphed over Africa and Egypt; he subdued all Asia to the Euphrates, and defeated the Parthians beyond that river. The Roman legions were still Roman in fact as well as in name, and their prowess was never so great. On all sides, they contended with a polygamous people whose unfavorable selection of mothers had debased their spirit. It is evident that the Roman common soldier of this day had not suffered the decline which had overtaken the patrician order. Through Macedon and Armenia these Roman common soldiers marched to the shores of the Euxine and the banks of the Euphrates,

[1] "He was of obscure birth, but, by means of Antony's friendship, obtained an opportunity of showing his capacity, and doing great things; and his making such glorious use of it gave new credit to the current observation about Cæsar and Antony, that they were more fortunate in what they did by their lieutenants than in their own persons." (Plutarch's *Lives*, Antony.)

enduring every hardship, traversing mountains and crossing rivers, invariably mastering every difficulty of the country itself, and beating an enemy of enormously greater numbers. At the battle of Chæronea, Sulla, commanding a Roman army of less than fifteen thousand foot and not above fifteen hundred horse, completely defeated Archelaus at the head of a mixed army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. Only ten thousand of the Asiatics escaped while Sulla wrote that there were but fourteen of his soldiers missing, and that two of these returned towards evening.

A still greater victory followed at Tigranocerta (about Bitlis), in B.C. 69. There, a small Roman force, not much more than 10,000 men, "too many for an embassy, too few for an army," met an immense host twenty times their number, and completely defeated them. The bulletin of the Roman general, Lucullus, announced that 100,000 Armenians, and five Romans had fallen. Pompey was equally successful. He triumphed successively over Africa, Europe, and Asia; and on his third triumph there were inscribed the names and titles of the vanquished nations—Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia, together with Phœnicia, and Palestine, Judæa, Arabia, and all the power of the pirates subdued by sea and land. (Plutarch's *Lives*, Pompey.) Cæsar's victories in Gaul were no less striking. He had few legions but his soldiers fought with more than human courage.

"For he had not pursued the wars in Gaul full ten years when he had taken by storm above eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred states and of the three millions of men, who made up the gross sum of those with whom at several times he engaged, he had killed one million and taken captive a second." (Plutarch's *Lives*, Cæsar.)

These enormous conquests under Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, and Cæsar, were all achieved in the first half of the first century B.C. In this period, Italy was torn by civil wars,

the ancient patriciate was destroyed, its fortunes seized, and its lives proscribed. The common people of Rome and Italy still filled the Roman legions, their officers were of equestrian rank, and they were usually commanded by men of obscure birth. Their continuous victories on three continents against overwhelming odds furnish ample testimony of the corporeal and spiritual prowess engendered by centuries of the Roman selection of mothers.

41. By the middle of the first century B.C., the spiritual stature of the Roman plebeian group had reached its height. Its leading families displayed evidences of augmented nervous organization exactly similar to those of the patricians two centuries earlier; and these characteristics arose from the same causes. Leading plebeians formed a new aristocracy, commanded the State, subdued distant provinces, and rapidly gained enormous wealth. Meanwhile their women died in child-bed, their marriages were unhappy, and divorce became frequent.

Until the reign of Augustus, the decline of aristocratic families from these causes was continuously made good by the rise of new stirpes from below. The plebeian order had always its proletariat to draw upon, and for three centuries the Roman proletariat had been continuously rising. During the reign of Augustus it began its decline. It had been the ancient custom to award conquered lands to the Roman veterans, and, not only throughout Italy, but in Gaul and Spain, colonies had been established where the Roman commons could, by incessant labor, wrest a livelihood from their ancestral acres. The distribution of lands created a hardy and industrious poor; since by no industry could the possessor of fifteen acres become rich; yet by idleness he might suffer want. For a century, a smaller class, "the rabble of the forum," had been growing up in idleness in Rome, depending upon the largesse of candidates who sought their votes. Augustus tried to stop election bribery; but he also established and carried out the distribution of grain to the urban proletariat. Want had been

often relieved before, but the occasional generosity of an office seeker could not furnish permanent support to an increasing multitude of dependants. Augustus made the support of the Roman poor an obligation of the Roman state. He attempted to regulate the practice with no less regard for the interests of the farmers and grain dealers, than for those of the populace. "I was strongly inclined to do away forever with the distributions of grain," he writes, "because through dependance on them agriculture was neglected; but I did not carry out my purpose, feeling sure that they would one day be renewed through desire for popular favor."

In fact, the state support begun by Augustus was never abandoned by his successors; the monthly distributions of corn were converted into a daily ration of bread; and, during five months of the year, there was added a regular allowance of bacon. The interests of agriculture were disregarded; the free husbandman, toiling on his colonial patrimony, fared worse than the idle citizen of the capital. The latter was not compelled to expend his labor for the food that he annually consumed. Out of the hardy and industrious peasantry that preceded his reign, Augustus created an idle and rationed proletariat.

42. All the factors of diversity which promote the survival of augmented nervous organizations were summarily extinguished. Energy, industry, thrift, foresight, temperance, chastity, avarice, talent, genius, the mental, moral and spiritual weapons which give superior advantages to higher nervous organizations in the contest against destitution, vanished. Even the mild temptation of alcohol was abolished.[1]

The diversity of talents, of character, and of remuneration, all of which belong to free labor, departed, and the lazy plebeians sank to a servile uniformity. Husbands were no

[1] Augustus' rations did not include wine. When the people complained, "My son-in-law Agrippa has taken good care by building several aqueducts that men shall not go thirsty," he told them.

longer dependant upon their earnings for the support of their families. Women were no longer dependant upon their husbands. The family life of wage earners which checks the increase of low nervous organizations by reducing their subsistence, and promotes the increase of higher nervous organizations by making life easier for them, disappeared. Cold women were not driven to the necessity of marriage and fruitfulness to obtain the support of a husband, and ardent women were not denied children for lack of ability to support them. The generosity of the state assured an equal ration to both. The result, expected with mathematical certainty, was the total extinction of augmented nervous organizations. Equal rations for free men, like equal rations for slaves, left fecundity the sole factor controlling the quality and numbers of posterity. The groups of low nervous organization whose women bore children with smaller heads were most prolific.

So, by the free distribution of corn, Augustus exactly reversed the selection of mothers begun seven hundred years earlier by Numa. Through all these centuries of poverty and oppression, the Numan selection of mothers had augmented, slowly it is true, but steadily, never letting it decline, the nervous organization of the Roman plebeians until they had become, in comparison with the contemporaneous proletariats of other nations, a race of supermen. While freedom, diversity, private property and monogamy had made the character of posterity depend upon other factors than fecundity, their spiritual stature rose, and they conquered the Mediterranean world. With all other factors abolished, and only fecundity retained, the Romans were easily worsted by the very nations they had vanquished. Their augmented nervous organizations could not multiply as fast as the prolific groups of low nervous organization. The latter had an easy victory, and the Roman stock soon died out without replacing itself.[1]

[1] "But when the prodigal commons had imprudently alienated not only the *use*, but the *inheritance*, of power they sunk, under the reign of

In a generation Rome's enemies were boasting her weakness.

"'At Rome every warlike principle is extinguished. The strength of their armies is mouldered away. They have no national strength, but depend altogether on foreign nations to fight their battles.'" (Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. III, Chap. XL.)

43. From the first century B.C. the names "patrician" and "plebeian" lost their ancient significance, and may be discarded. They no longer denote either a durable or a real distinction in manners, rank, power, wealth, blood, lineage, paternity or maternity. So far as the ancient patrician patronymics linger on the pages of history, they were worn by families which had adopted the marriage customs of the proletariat, and by lax sexual unions had debased the strain of their posterity. Old and familiar names, repeated in the pages of Livy's history from the battle of Lake Regillus to the fall of Carthage, gradually disappeared. The great actors in history's pages bear new names of new families, newly entered upon the Roman stage. Between the reign of Augustus and Vespasian "a new race of men from the municipal towns, the colonies, and the provinces, found their way, not only to Rome, but even

---

the Cæsars, into a vile and wretched populace, which must, in a few generations, have been totally extinguished, if it had not been continually recruited by the manumission of slaves and the influx of strangers. As early as the time of Hadrian it was the just complaint of the ingenuous natives that the capital had attracted the vices of the universe and the manners of the most opposite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the savage obstinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the servile temper of the Asiatics, and the dissolute, effeminate prostitution of the Syrians, were mingled in the various multitude, which, under the proud and *false* denomination of Romans, presumed to despise their fellow-subjects, and even their sovereigns, who dwelt beyond the precincts of the ETERNAL CITY." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XXXI.) Gibbon in a footnote quotes the authority of both Juvenal and Seneca.

into the Senate" (Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. III, 55.) Roman marriage customs and a Roman selection of mothers, had first been carried by Roman conquest to the nearest Italian states. The widening circle of Roman victories had continuously enlarged the colonial empire to the North and West. To the East and South there had been met the stubborn resistance of ancient civilizations with religions, languages, laws, and customs of their own. So that Greece, Asia, Syria, Egypt, and Africa were not the seats of Roman colonists or the nurseries of Roman citizens. They were subdued and taxed, but their contributions to Rome were limited to gold, corn, oil, art, letters, luxury, and vice. Roman legions begot many children on the women of these conquered lands, but the offspring of these mothers added neither valor nor genius to the empire.

It was otherwise with the Roman conquests of Italy and of the barbarians to the North and West, Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, Illyria, Liguria, and Spain. In all this region, Roman colonies were planted; and the colonists carried with them Roman language, laws, and customs, Roman mothers and a Roman selection of mothers. Roman methods of improving the strain of posterity, of augmenting the spiritual stature, and of creating new genius were implanted in these colonies and these provinces. They began to bear genius in an order which followed the order in which it was planted; and this genius gradually replenished the dearth at Rome. When Rome was corrupted with free love and free food, the colonies which had preserved the ancient Roman manners continued to reproduce the ancient Roman spirit. During the second century A.D., the descendants of colonials and provincials ruled Rome and the Roman world.

44. At the end of the first century A.D. the decline of the Roman orders in Rome itself and in Italy was complete. It is probable that most of the ancient patrician families no longer existed at all. Their names disappeared from history's pages. The Roman and Italian commons still

survived, having differentiated into three classes, a new aristocracy, a rationed urban proletariat, and an impoverished rustic peasantry. All three classes were declining. Although their nervous organization was far below that of their ancestors a century earlier, it was still somewhat higher than that of their slaves, and of the Gauls, Africans, and Asiatics that had flowed into Rome and Italy. Freedmen, clients, dependants, and bastards, adopted the patronymics of their patrons; so that the continued survival in Italy of Roman and Latin names during this era is imperfect evidence of the actual survival of much, if any, of the ancient Roman stock. Every land is eventually peopled by its most prolific women; *i.e.*, those that bear children with smaller heads. Powerful factors suspend or retard this process in rising civilizations, but these are removed and the process hastened when civilization falls. Hereafter Italy shared with every province of the empire the honor of seating an emperor or a dynasty on the imperial throne; and the fact that history no longer admits any Italian or Roman ascendancy or predominance in the imperial rule, is strong evidence of a striking change in the Italian population.[1]

Outside of Italy, the Roman colonies in Gaul and Spain had preserved and increased the ancient Roman stock,

[1] "For the empire during which we have fairly full records of the more distinguished families we are enabled even to reach definite statistics regarding the amazingly rapid decline of the old stock. For instance, of the forty-five patricians in the senate in Cæsar's day only one is represented by posterity in Hadrian's day. The famous Æmilii, Fabii, Claudii, Manlii, Valerii and all the rest, with the exception of the Cornelii, have disappeared. Augustus and Claudius raised twenty-five families to the patriciate, and all but six of them vanish before Nerva's reign. Of the families of nearly four hundred senators recorded in 65 A.D. under Nero all trace of a half is lost a generation later, and not a few of those surviving live on only through the adoption of children. Of course members of the aristocracy suffered severely under the political tyranny of that century, but most of this result is after all directly traceable to voluntary childlessness." (Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, Chap. X.)

untouched by the causes which had destroyed the patricians and plebeians of Rome itself. From this stock came the rulers of the second century A.D., Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. They also obtained their troops from the provinces; and the genius of provincial commanders uniting with the valor of provincial soldiers restored the prestige and raised the power of Rome.

45. The first of these emperors was Trajan, of Italian blood but born in Spain in the Roman colony of Italica. He was accompanied to Rome by his wife Plotina and his sister Marciana. And it was at once noticed that the women of this provincial family had escaped the vices, even the fashions of the Roman ladies.[1] The virtues of Plotina are praised by Pliny and by Dion Cassius.

Under Trajan, the pagan empire rose to a new height of power.

"Every day the astonished senate received the intelligence of new names and new nations, that acknowledged his sway. They were informed that the kings of Bosphorus, Colchos, Iberia, Albania, Osrhœne, and even the Parthian monarch himself, had accepted their diadems from the hands of the emperor; that the independent tribes of the Median and Carduchian hills had implored his protection; and that the rich countries of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, were reduced into the state of provinces." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. I.)

[1] Portraits of the ladies of the Cæsars, and of their successors the provincials, will be found in General Young's book *East and West Through Fifteen Centuries*. With respect to the provincial women he observes: "The manner in which these ladies arranged their hair, to be seen in the portraits of Titus' daughter Julia, of Domitian's wife, Domitia Longina, of Trajan's sister Marciana, and of Hadrian's wife Sabina (Plates XXIX, XXXI, XXXV, and XXXVII), is extraordinary, and in much contrast to the almost modern style in which the ladies of a more aristocratic time, that of the Cæsars, wore their hair, to be seen in the portraits of Livia, Antonia, Agrippina the elder, Domitia Lepida, and Poppæa (Plates V, VII, XIII, and XXI, Chap., VI.)" It is evident that these provincial women were unspoiled, had little contact with the capital, little knowledge of its manners, and did not ape its fashions.

The extension of the empire's frontiers, and the addition of new provinces from without, while peace, security, and humane government were preserved within the empire, are strong evidence that the virtues formerly bred into the old patrician order of Rome, had not died out among Roman colonists and provincials. The disorders of the first century B.C., the decline of the aristocracy, the proscription of Sulla, the assassination of Cæsar, the wars of the Triumvirate, and the founding of the empire, were at this period but memories of a remote and receding past. Pliny's letters show a busy pagan civilization, lively and interesting as the nineteenth century of our era, retaining its virtues through a favorable selection of mothers.

The old patrician names were nearly gone. But the old patrician manners, surviving in the remoter colonies and provinces, had again augmented the Roman spirit, and had raised up a new aristocracy to fill the place of the old. In these letters, we see among Pliny's friends and acquaintances, the morals of an earlier Rome:—The authority of fathers and husbands is restored, the obedience of daughters and wives is expected. Women are chaste, dutiful, loyal, made fruitful by humility and obedience rather than desire. An uncle seeks a husband for his niece. Pliny recommends "a native of Brixia, a city of that Italy we both love, the Italy which still retains much of the sobriety, the frugality —aye, and the rustic plainness—of ancient manners." The youth is descended from a mother and grandmother of Padua; who are looked upon "even among those reserved people as an exemplary instance of strict virtue." (Pliny's *Letters*, 1–14.) Pliny's young wife (he was thrice married) was a pattern of all the domestic virtues of old-fashioned Rome. Girls are again betrothed as virgins at the age of thirteen, given by a father's command in monogamous marriage to a husband's rule. Cold women are made fruitful, the nervous organization is augmented, and in consequence miscarriage and death in childbed recur. (*Ibid.*, BK. IV, 21.) By the free love of the Augustan age,

the "family" in the ancient Roman sense had been destroyed, and mortals substituted in its stead. Men and women contracted and dissolved their unions at pleasure, and their brittle marriage was the fragile seal of individual desire. The aristocracy that destroyed the family destroyed itself. In Pliny's letters, family organization, family discipline, family authority again appear, and a new aristocracy was born to the Romans who restored the family as a social unit. Under Caligula and Nero visible things were worshipped, and the rising tide of riches and luxury corrupted the posterity of free love, whose debased nervous organization was incapable of offering spiritual resistance to temptation. Under Trajan, riches and luxury had increased by two generations; but the augmented nervous organization of a posterity born to the austere and virtuous women of colonials and provincials who now ruled Rome, raised the spiritual stature above temptation. The pages of Pliny give no such pictures of vice as do the Satires of Juvenal. In one, we see the rise of an improved strain from the provinces; in the other, the decline of the ancient Roman stock.

46. For a century, the new strains of Roman blood from colonies and provinces continued to command the empire. At the close of the second century A.D., they declined and vanished, as the patrician and plebeian groups of Rome itself had successively declined. The sceptre now passed to a succession of emperors who were not Roman at all, either in birth, lineage, or tongue. Septimius Severus, who ascended the throne in A.D. 193, was an African, and showed it both in his physiognomy, and his speech. He had to acquire Latin as a foreign language. The dynasty founded by him was followed by Maximin (235–238), a barbarian shepherd of Thrace whose father was a Goth and whose mother was an Alan. He was succeeded, for six years, by the Gordians (238–244), who were Africans, although perhaps of Roman or Spanish descent; and they in turn were followed by Philip (244–249) an Arab by birth,

and therefore a robber by profession. It was in the reign of Philip the Arabian that the city of Rome celebrated with great magnificence her one thousandth birthday.

The change from Roman to foreign emperors marks the decline of the Roman colonial and provincial strain; and the causes of that decline continued to infect and impair succeeding generations of the posterity of all the pagan inhabitants of the empire. For, now, a new grouping must be made of the people that were tributary to Rome. During and after the second century, they were divided by a new line of cleavage, which set apart pagan from Christian. Each group was self-contained, self-sustaining, and the two groups differed from each other as widely in domestic customs and the selection of mothers as once did the groups of patricians and plebeians or of Romans and provincials. The pagans declined, the Christians rose; each group following the course mapped out for it by mathematical law. Attention may first be given to the cause of the pagan group's decline.

47. At this time, pagan marriage was simply "a loose and voluntary compact, religious and civil rites were no longer essential; and between persons of a similar rank the apparent community of life was allowed as sufficient evidence of their nuptials."

"When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, a new jurisprudence was introduced, that marriage, like other partnerships, might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, this principle was enlarged to frequent practice and pernicious abuse. Passion, interest, or caprice suggested daily motives for the dissolution of marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation; the most tender of human connections was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure. According to the various conditions of life, both sexes alternately felt the disgrace and injury; an inconstant spouse transferred her wealth to a new family, abandoning

a numerous, perhaps a spurious, progeny to the paternal authority and care of her late husband; a beautiful virgin might be dismissed to the world, old, indigent, and friendless; but the reluctance of the Romans, when they were pressed to marriage by Augustus, sufficiently marks that the prevailing institutions were least favorable to the males. A specious theory is confuted by this free and perfect experiment, which demonstrates that the liberty of divorce does not contribute to happiness and virtue." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XLIV.)

An equal facility of divorce affords to cold women an easy escape from unwelcome conjugal duties. And, to free divorce, the pagans added the general practice of concubinage.

"A concubine, in the strict sense of the civilians, was a woman of servile or plebeian extraction, the sole and faithful companion of a Roman citizen, who continued in a state of celibacy. Her modest station, below the honours of a wife, above the infamy of a prostitute, was acknowledged and approved by the laws; from the age of Augustus to the tenth century the use of this secondary marriage prevailed both in the West and East; and the humble virtues of a concubine were often preferred to the pomp and insolence of a noble matron. In this connection the two Antonines, the best of princes and of men, enjoyed the comforts of domestic love; the example was imitated by many citizens impatient of celibacy, but regardful of their families. If at any time they desired to legitimatize their natural children, the conversion was instantly performed by the celebration of their nuptials with a partner whose fruitfulness and fidelity they had already tried." (*Ibid.*)

Free distribution of corn, begun by Augustus for the relief of indigent citizens of Rome, had spread to every large and wealthy city of the empire, and gradually corrupted the urban proletariat of each. It established fecundity as the chief, if not the sole, factor of survival and filled the cities with the prolific descendants of those groups of low nervous organization whose women bore children with smaller heads. In a rationed urban proletariat loose

sexual unions may be taken for granted. Augmented nervous organizations could survive, if they could survive at all, only in the country and the provinces. And in Europe these regions were impoverished by a practice which deprived them of their best market. Pliny complains that, though his lands are productive, and his barns are full, the only estate which yields him any profit is the one where he cultivates his mind and not his lands.[1]

48. The provinces and country districts, however, still supported a large and unrationed population of freemen of Roman or Italian descent; and these, from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, had contributed strength and genius to the empire. The decline of the pagan part of this population from the second century onward must be ascribed to free divorce and concubinage. From the reign of Augustus, both had been freely practiced in the higher circles at Rome; but it was not until the second century that they began to corrupt the provincials of Roman stock. Pliny's letters show no trace of them in his circle of provincial friends. In the second century, concubinage became common, even respectable. "In this connection the two Antonines, the best of princes and of men, enjoyed the comforts of domestic love." The Antonines were of provincial stock, Antoninus Pius coming from a Roman family settled at Nismes in Gaul; and the example set in such high quarters was followed throughout the empire by wealthy pagans of the

[1] To Julius Naso—"A storm of hail, I am informed, has destroyed all the produce of my estate in Tuscany; while that which I have on the other side of the Po, though it has proved extremely fruitful this season, yet from the excessive cheapness of every thing, turns to small account. My Laurentine seat is the single possession which yields me any return. I have nothing there, indeed, but a house and gardens, and the sands lie just beyond; still, however, my sole profit comes thence. For there I cultivate, not my land (since I have none), but my mind, and form many a composition. As in other places I can show you full barns; so there I can display a well-stocked book-case. Let me advise you then, if you wish for an ever-productive farm, to purchase something upon this coast." (Pliny, *Letters*, IV, 6.)

best families, who were unwilling to surrender their independence or to jeopardize their happiness by formal marriage with the insolent and selfish women of their own rank. There is striking evidence to show how fast it spread among the respectable pagans, and to what lengths the practice was carried. The younger Gordianus, a scholar and man of letters of one of the first families of Rome, and enjoying senatorial rank, had twenty-two acknowledged concubines and left a progeny of three or four children by each. (Gibbon, *Ibid.*, Chap. VIII.)

It is plain that the decline of the pagan provincials was effected by a cause similar to that which had already destroyed the orders of Roman patricians and plebeians. The provincials were a more numerous group and occupied a far larger extent of territory, yet in concubinage they found the certain means of sterilizing their cold women. Their posterity were descended only from ardent and willing mothers of low nervous organization. The futile pretence of "legitimatising" the children of a concubine by a subsequent marriage with their mother improved their legal status, but could not change their spiritual character. Each succeeding generation reduced the nervous organization of the pagan provincials, dwarfed their spiritual stature, and brought them nearer to the rank and condition of Asiatics.

49. The empire was then in the hands of the pagans; and the middle of the third century was a period of unparalleled defeats and disasters. In the ten years from 250 to 260 A.D., the Goths crossed the Danube, defeated and destroyed a Roman army, and killed the Roman emperor Decius in Thrace; the Franks crossed the Rhine and spread devastation throughout the whole of Gaul; the Allemanni invaded Noricum and Rhætia, penetrated into Italy itself, and advanced as far as Ravenna; the Goths, having built a fleet, crossed the Black Sea, ravaged in succession Pontus and Bithynia, and the coasts of Mysia and Lydia, destroying at Ephesus the magnificent Temple of "Diana of the

Ephesians," one of the seven wonders of the world, and then attacked and ravaged Greece; and lastly the Persians, under Sapor I, the son of Artaxerxes, conquered Armenia, defeated the whole of the eastern border of the empire, and, capturing the emperor Valerian, carried him off a prisoner to Persia. At the end of the third century, the pagans had assumed the spiritual characteristics of Asiatics, and Diocletian, last of the pagan emperors, abandoned the laws and administrative organization founded three centuries earlier by Augustus, and remodeled the Roman Empire on Asiatic lines.[1]

In his reign, the cycle of pagan Rome was complete. During the thousand years which had passed since Numa, spiritual exaltation and worldly power had been achieved and lost in turn by three successive groups. Each group had risen as it enforced a favorable selection of mothers, and each had declined and perished when its selection of mothers changed. The same thing was now to happen to the Christians.

50. Instead of the former grouping of patrician and plebeian, followed by Roman and provincial, the imperial subjects were now divided into pagan and Christian. The third century A.D. shows the decline of the pagan and rise of the Christian group; and in the fourth century the Christians gained possession of the empire. The same difference in the selection of mothers that, during the first millennium of Roman history, distinguished the former groups, and governed their rise and fall, now separated and classified pagans and Christians. The former declined, and the latter advanced, in obedience to mathematical law. The loose marriage customs, the free divorce and concubinage,

[1] "'Rome and her provinces,' says the historian of the Cæsars, 'lived for three centuries beneath the laws and traditions of Augustus. It was at a later period that decrepit and struggling for existence, it accepted, as the veteran's crutch, the puerile and oriental system of administration which it received from Diocletian.'" (Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, Lecture II.)

which had been adopted by all the pagan world, were not, to the end of the third century, admitted or allowed by the Christian communion. To the last generation of their advancement in civilization, Christian sexual morals were pure, the sanctity of marriage was upheld and blessed by their priests and bishops, monogamy was strictly enforced, and divorce was forbidden. Thus, the first Christians revived the ancient virtues of rising Rome.

The New Testament condemned in set terms all sexual laxity and uncleanness; laid repeated stress on the duty of obedience by children to parents and wives to husbands; insisted on indissoluble monogamous marriage; and taught the modest demeanor and submission of women both in the home and in the church. In only one of his Epistles did St. Paul, weighing the balance between marriage and virginity, give some countenance to the latter as the better state.[1]

"The dignity of marriage was restored by the Christians, who derived all spiritual grace from the prayers of the faithful and the benediction of the priest or bishop. The origin, validity, and duties of the holy institution were regulated by the tradition of the synagogue, the precepts of the Gospel, and the canons of general or provincial synods; and the conscience of the Christians was awed by the decrees and censures of their ecclesiastical rulers." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XLIV.)

[1] I Corinthians, VII; Ephesians, V; Colossians, III; I Timothy, II and V; Titus, II; see also I Peter, III.

[1] In Rome girls were taught "to live always under the authority of a man, whether father, husband or guardian, without the right to possess property, not even a dowry, to be gentle, obedient, and chaste, attentive only to housework and children." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Chap. I.)

"That they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children,

To be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed." (St. Paul, *Epistle to Titus*, II, 4 and 5.)

It is an interesting parallel.

The Christians were not under law but under grace; laxity of marital unions then allowed by law, was not sanctioned by the Church. As five centuries earlier, in pagan Rome, so now among the Christian sect, a pure virgin was dedicated to motherhood, and was given in indissoluble monogamous marriage by paternal command sanctioned by a religious rite, to a husband whom she obeyed.[1] The result was to make fruitful the cold as well as the ardent of the Christian wives. So that, in the fourth century A D., the offspring of Christian marriage were the only inhabitants of the empire who could claim an ancestry of one or more cold genetrices. The same cause which had made Rome mistress of the world, and which had elevated the plebeian above the patrician, had now made pagan and Christian change places.[2]

51. The Christian rise began, as would be expected, in the lowest classes of society—the small tradesmen, publicans, farmers, peasants, fishermen, servants, and slaves—collectively the proletariat. Spiritual improvement, necessarily slow, must begin always with the poor, because they have ahead of them enough generations of

[1] St. Augustine gives a beautiful picture of the virtues of his mother, St. Monica.

[2] "The sensual connection was refined into a resemblance of the mystic union of Christ with his church, and was pronounced to be indissoluble either by divorce or by death. The practice of a second nuptials was branded with the name of a legal adultery; and the persons who were guilty of so scandalous an offence against Christian purity were soon excluded from the honours, and even from the arms, of the church." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XV.)

The same hostility to second marriage was shown by pagan Romans in the third century B. C. when Verginia erected her altar to the plebeian Pudicitia (p.53-54), and by the Pagan Germans when their morals were observed and recorded by Tacitus (Germania XIX). Note the parallel between the ideals of the Romans who conquered the Mediterranean world, the Christians who rose to command the empire, and the Germans that the empire never conquered. The virgin who chooses marriage, does so in ignorance; the widow with knowledge. It is plain that the voluntary remarriage of a widow exercises a different selection on motherhood from the first marriage of a virgin.

posterity to afford the time required for spiritual growth. It cannot begin with the rich, whose nervous organizations are already augmented, because their fertility is continuously decreasing, and any further augmentation of their spiritual stature causes this group to disappear. This law is truly exemplified in all the civilizations of Israel, Greece, and Rome; and even the Roman patrician order is no exception. For the first patricians were poor men, judged by any other standard than their plebeian neighbors. Attus Clausus, founder of the proud Claudian house, one of the great patrician families of Rome, received from the Roman state, when he came to Rome from the Sabine tribes, twenty-five acres of land. The historical anecdotes of Coriolanus, of Cincinnatus, of Manius Curius, and of Regulus, of Fabius Maximus, Scipio Africanus, and Æmilius Paullus, with many others, attest the fact that, during the whole of the rise of the patrician group, the Roman patrician families were poor, lived frugally on a small patrimony, labored with their own hands on their own lands, and left no fortunes when they died.[1]

The rise of the Christians for three centuries was in obedience to the same law. Their religion separated them not only from pagan marriage and morals, pagan divorce

[1] *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*, while digging or ploughing on his farm of four acres, was visited by ambassadors who saluted him as dictator. (Livy, Bk. III., 26.)

Manius Curius, one of the greatest of the Romans, having subdued the most warlike nations and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, after three triumphs was contented to dig in a small piece of ground and live in a plain and tiny cottage. "Here it was that the ambassadors of the Samnites finding him boiling turnips in the chimney corner, offered him a present of gold; but he sent them away with this saying; that he, who was content with such a supper had no need of gold." (Plutarch's *Life of Marcus Cato.*)

Attilius Regulus during his consulship (Y.R. 497) and the war with the Carthaginians, asked the senate to be recalled alleging "that his little farm, being all his subsistence, was going to ruin, owing to the mismanagement of hired stewards." (Livy, Bk. XVIII epit.)

Fabius Maximus. When he died, the people defrayed the expenses of

and concubinage, but also from pagan worship, from pagan sacrifices to pagan gods, and from the bounty of a pagan government. They could not submit to official tests for fitness for pagan offices, nor could they accept office, nor perquisites, nor power. They were obscure when they were not persecuted, and they were persecuted when they were not obscure. They cultivated their own lands, and lived by their own labor soberly, frugally, and in the fear of God. Gibbon describes two of them, "grandsons of St. Jude, the Apostle, who himself was the brother of Jesus Christ," brought before a magistrate on the charge of being Christians. "When they were examined concerning their fortune and occupation, they showed their hands hardened with daily labor and declared that they derived their whole subsistence from the cultivation of a farm near the village of Cocaba, of the extent of about 24 English acres, and of the value of nine thousand drachma, or three hundred pounds sterling. The grandsons of St. Jude were dismissed with compassion and contempt."[2] (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XVI.)

---

his funeral by private contribution from each citizen. Plutarch: *Life of Fabius.*

Æmilius Paullus. "Such was the moderation and integrity of this great commander, that, notwithstanding the immense treasures he had brought from Spain and Macedon, upon the sale of his effects, there could scarcely be raised a sum sufficient to repay his wife's fortune." (Livy, Bk. XLVI.)

Lucius Scipio. "The prætor then sent the quæstors to take possession of Lucius Scipio's property for the use of the public. And not only did no trace appear of money received from the king, but not even so much was made up from the sale as the sum in which he was fined. So large a contribution was made for Lucius Scipio by his relations, friends, and clients, that, if he had accepted it, he would have been much richer than before this misfortune; but he received nothing. Such things as were necessary for his family occasions, were bought back at the sale by his nearest relations." (Livy, Bk. XXXVIII, 60.)

[2] Prices vary from age to age, and income stated in terms of money varies in accordance with the variation of prices. So a person "passing

Because they were of the class of the poor and the oppressed who labor by their own hands—the class rightly called the proletariat because they are more prolific than other classes—the followers of the new religion increased in numbers faster than their rich and powerful oppressors. Because they were Christians and had revived in the Christian communion the ancient selection of mothers, once taught by Numa to the pagan Romans, their spiritual stature rose as that of the pagans declined. So that in three centuries, and through ten persecutions, the Christians, beginning far behind the pagans, had out-distanced them in every respect. They had multiplied in numbers, and had grown in grace. At the beginning of this period, the wealth, power, and respectability of the empire were altogether in the hands of the pagans, at the end of it, of the Christians.

52. From the founding of Rome, in the eighth century, B.C., to the Christianization of the Roman empire, in the fourth century A.D. there stretched a period of about eleven centuries during which Roman power was never wholly extinguished. The sceptre passed from the ancient patrician order of Rome, to the plebeians; from the plebeians of Rome and its vicinity, to the provincials; and from the pagan provincials, to the Christians.

The succession was determined wholly by each group's selection for motherhood—the declining group always having abandoned the usages which impressed motherhood upon cold women, and the rising group always having adopted them. It is noticeable that this is a law of causation which

---

rich with forty pounds a year" in the eighteenth century, would be very poor with the same income in the twentieth. But the produce of land is relatively constant; and an equal number of acres tilled with equal industry yield their possessor an equal income in all ages. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that these Christian peasants of the first century, who were "dismissed with compassion and contempt," owned and tilled as much ground, and therefore enjoyed the same income as the great Attus Clausus, founder of the patrician Claudian house, five hundred years earlier.

not only determined the succession of these respective groups but also determined the relative strength of the empire itself. The larger the group which impressed maternity upon its cold women, the stronger the empire. Posterity in greater numbers, both absolutely and proportionately, claimed descent from cold genetrices. Thus, as the plebeian group succeeded the patrician, the republic was stronger under Marius than under Marcellus or Scipio; as provincial plebeians succeeded Roman plebeians, the empire was stronger under Trajan than under Augustus; and, finally, as the Christian group, most numerous of all, impressed maternity upon its cold women, the empire attained its greatest strength under the Christian ascendency of the fourth century A.D. In the preface to *East and West Through Fifteen Centuries*, General Young asserts:

"Another main point on which this history differs from others has regard to the period which is to be held as the zenith of the Roman Empire. One whose name justly stands above all others as a historian has considered the zenith of the Roman Empire to be the period of the Antonine emperors (Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius), and that its decline began from the close of that period in A.D. 180; his dictum has been followed by all subsequent historians, and is that to which long usage has accustomed us. The temerity of differing from such an authority on such a point is great; but this history ventures to place the zenith of that empire in the period from Constantine the Great to Theodosius the Great and to date the beginning of its decline from the close of that period in A.D. 395. Only when viewed from the standpoint of a strong bias against Christianity, such as Gibbon possessed, a bias sufficiently powerful to make him feel that the mere fact of the empire being Pagan in the time of the Antonine emperors rendered it superior to the same empire become Christian, could the zenith of that empire be held to be in the time of the Antonine emperors and its decline to begin from A.D. 180. So far from this being the case the condition of the Roman Empire during the period covered by the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius (roughly the 2d century) was surpassed, and in every respect,

by its condition during the period covered by the reigns of Constantine, Constantius, Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius (roughly the 4th century). Any unprejudiced examination will show that it was in the 4th century that the empire attained its zenith and not in the 2d century. Part of the 3rd century was a time of misrule and disaster, but this had been more than retrieved even before the time of the Christian emperors began. They in the period from Constantine to Theodosius carried the empire to a higher point than it had ever before attained, and its decline must be dated from the close of that period in A.D. 395, and not from A.D. 180." (Gen. G. F. Young, *East and West Through Fifteen Centuries*, Preface, p. vii.)

In Chapter XVI, General Young repeats this assertion, and examines the evidence under four heads:

1. Military strength. 2. Splendour of cities. 3. Prosperity of the people. 4. General standard of enlightenment and civilization.

His examination is too long to quote here, but there can be no doubt that he proves his assertion, and that the decline of the empire followed its Christianization, and did not begin under the pagan emperors. Up to the time of Theodosius, at the end of the fourth century, Roman troops had successfully defended the frontiers of the empire, and had held back the tide of barbarian invasion. General Young thus enumerates their battles and victories:

"The whole of the battles fought by Constantine (more especially those at Turin, Verona, Saxa Rubra, Cibalæ, and Hadrianople, and the thorough defeat of the Gothic host in 332), the hard-fought battle of Mursa under Constantius in 351, the splendid series of victories under Julian over the Franks and Allemanni in 356–359, the no less splendid conduct of the Roman army in the retreat from Persia in 363, the victories of that army under Valentinian on the Rhine, in Britain, and in Africa, including in particular its behaviour at the battle of Solicinium in 368, the victory of Colmar under Gratian in 378, the victories of Theodosius and Gratian over the Goths in 379 and 380, and the victories at Siscia, and Pœtovio under Theodosius in 388,

give an overwhelming refutation to the assertion." (Gen. Young, *East and West Through Fifteen Centuries*, Chap. XVI.)

From this evidence, he concludes that "never in the whole course of its history was the Roman army at so high a pitch of discipline, training, and efficiency, or the military strength of the empire so great, as it was in the period from Constantine to Theodosius."

A devout Christian, looking upon the empire at the close of the 4th century, must have hoped and believed that the ancient corruption had all passed away and that virtue had regenerated its people, and had renewed its strength. Paganism had been extinguished. Constantine, Valentinian, Gratian and Theodosius were the near and memorable heroes. Caligula, Nero, Commodus, Elagabalus, were wicked figures of a corrupt and remote age which had long passed away. The capital of the empire was no longer at Rome; and none of the later emperors were Romans, either by birth or residence.[1] The laws under which the Empire was ruled might be dated from Constantinople, from Nicomædia, from Antioch, from Ravenna, from Milan, from Treves, or from a remote camp on the Danube or the Rhine; for two centuries they were seldom dated from Rome itself.

Many of these emperors were sprung from the hardy country stock of distant provinces. Constantine the Great was born in the province of Dacia; his mother was the

[1] "The emperors had long ceased to regard themselves as belonging to any particular country, and the imperial government was no longer influenced by any attachment to the feelings or institutions of ancient Rome. The glories of the republic were forgotten in the constant and laborious duty of administering and defending the empire." (Finlay, *Greece under the Romans*, Chap. II.)

"Diocletian (285–305) appears to have visited Rome but twice in his twenty years' reign. The first time was in 303, when he celebrated there a triumph. It is notable as being the last Roman triumph ever celebrated by a Roman emperor. In 78 years after Constantine's visit in 326, Rome was only twice visited by an emperor, by Constantius in 357, and by Theodosius in 389." (Gen. Young, Chap. XI and XVI.)

daughter of an innkeeper of Britain. Trajan and Hadrian were born in Spain; Theodosius, and his successors in the imperial purple for eighty years, were born in the same province, and perhaps in the same tiny city of Italica near Seville. The Antonines came from Gaul. To the end of the 4th century A.D. the Roman legions showed undiminished vigor and courage, and the Roman arms an equal success.

53. The decline of the common people of the Roman empire was a Christian not a pagan decline. The Christian Church was co-extensive with the imperial boundaries, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy coordinated its power with that of the emperor himself. The fall of the western empire and of Christian civilization cannot be ascribed to the superstitious errors of the pagan religion, to the corruption of the city of Rome, to the deterioration of the Roman aristocracy, to the disuse of the voting power by the Latin tribes, or even to the wealth, luxury, and vices of the rich. All these factors had been in evidence for about four centuries, and some of them had even ceased before the Christian decline took place. At the end of the fourth century, Christianity had supplanted paganism, Rome had been purified of vice, the ancient aristocracy had wholly disappeared, and imperial taxation had impoverished the largest fortunes of inherited wealth. The fall of the Christian empire must be ascribed to a new and a Christian cause.

The events at the end of the fourth century, culminating in the capture and sacking of Rome itself, were widely different from anything previously witnessed either in the Roman republic, or in the empire, and are evidence of a new cause which was operating in this period. The differences may be classified as:

A. Difference in the number and extent of the declining group.

B. Difference in the rapidity of the decline.

In respect to the differences of group, history records, under the republic, the decline *first* of the ancient Roman patrician order, *second* of the Roman plebeians; and, under

the empire, the decline of the pagan provincials, and the rise of the Christians. The decline at the end of the fourth century was the decline of the whole empire itself—of every class of society, of the urban and rural population of every province. It was not the decline of a group inferior in numbers to the state itself.

The ascendancy of the patrician order was maintained from the beginning of the republic to the close of the third Punic War and the destruction of Carthage under Scipio Africanus, B.C. 146. Its decline occupied the period from this date to the death, in B.C. 44, of Julius Cæsar, the last great patrician general, or about one hundred years. This period included the victories of Lucullus and Pompey the Great, the dictatorship of Sulla, and the Gallic Wars. The decline began about a generation after the emancipation of patrician women first affected the selection of patrician mothers. The decline of the Latin plebeians extended through the period from the victory of Marius over the Cimbri, B.C. 102, to the conquest of Britain and Mauretania in the middle of the first century A.D., or about one hundred and fifty years. The decline of the provincials under the pagan empire required also about one hundred and fifty years, from the victories of Trajan, A.D. 101, to the defeats and disasters under Decius and Valerian, A.D. 250–258.

No such stretch of time measures the decline of the Christian empire. It was a debacle. Observe the dates.

A.D. 395—Death of Theodosius. The empire's frontiers are intact; the Rhine has been recently and newly fortified (by Valentinian, after signally defeating the Germans in 371).

A.D. 400–402—The frontiers are defended by a barbarian army led by Stilicho a barbarian general.

A.D. 407—No more is heard of the Roman army.

A.D. 407—Gaul is overrun.

A.D. 408—The Visigoths march, unopposed, through Italy to Rome.

A.D. 410—Rome is taken and sacked.
A.D. 410—Spain is lost.
A.D. 415—Britain is lost.
A.D. 420—Rhætia and Noricum are lost.
A.D. 429—Vandals invade North Africa.

Thus, the smaller group of the patricians suffered its decline in a century; the larger groups of plebeians and provincials in a century and a half; but the Christians, largest group of all, comprising an empire, met their debacle in a generation. The decline of the Non-Christian groups indicates that, in their cases, posterity suffered a gradual subtraction of noble qualities, so that each generation was somewhat inferior to its progenitors. But the debacle of the Christian group cannot be attributed to a process of subtraction or to a gradual decay. Its fall was too sudden, too complete, to be satisfactorily accounted for by attrition. Neither can it be ascribed to a sudden increase in the power or numbers of the hostile barbarians. The same frontiers that were successfully defended to the last decade of the fourth century, crumbled before the assaults of the same barbarians in the first decade of the fifth. Moreover, separate provinces like Britain and Spain, the one defended by the seas, the other by a mountain chain, were lost, almost without a struggle, to barbarians who were fighting far from their base. The fall of the Christian empire must be attributed to a new cause; it must have been a cause which operated upon all the populations alike, and which was sufficiently potent to reverse in a single generation the character of posterity.

54. This new cause, coextensive with the Church, and therefore with the empire, may be found in the new Christian practice of the religious sterilization of the pious. In the fourth century, the Christian fathers, the most revered of their faith, and the heads of the Church, preached a new doctrine, which was speedily and eagerly embraced by the whole Christian world. This doctrine was that celibacy and

virginity *only*, were pleasing to God. It was taught that marriage was a compromise with sin; a worldly indulgence in lust; that it was unworthy for the best Christians and a distinct fall from the immaculate ideals of the Church.

"It was their favorite opinion, that if Adam had preserved his obedience to the Creator, he would have lived forever in a state of virgin purity, and that some harmless mode of vegetation might have peopled paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings. The use of marriage was permitted only to his fallen posterity, as a necessary expedient to continue the human species, and as a restraint, however imperfect, on the natural licentiousness of desire." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter XV.)

The doctrine of the religious sterilization of the pious, originating in the provinces south of the Mediterranean (probably in Egypt), was in 341 A.D., brought to Rome and rapidly spread to every corner of the empire, infecting every city, every province, and every class of the population. Everywhere, religious houses and retreats were filled with the male and female votaries of celibacy. Read the evidence from the pages of Gibbon.

"The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexandria, the mountain, and adjacent desert of Nitra was peopled by five thousand anachorets; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries, which were planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony. In the Upper Thebais, the vacant island of Tabenne was occupied by Pachomius and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot successively founded nine monasteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected fifty thousand religious persons, who followed his *angelic* rule of discipline. The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the seat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop, who might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thousand females, and twenty thousand males, of the monastic profession. The

Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope, and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people; and posterity might repeat the saying which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country, that in Egypt it was less difficult to find a god than a man.

Athanasius, (A.D. 293–373), introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who accompanied their primate to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and savage appearance of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the narrow institution of *six* Vestals was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries, which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples and in the midst of the Roman forum." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XXXVII.)

"But the monasteries were filled by a crowd of obscure and abject plebeians, who gained in the cloister much more than they had sacrificed in the world. Peasants, slaves, and mechanics might escape from poverty and contempt to a safe and honourable profession, whose apparent hardships were mitigated by custom, by popular applause, and by the secret relaxation of discipline. The subjects of Rome, whose persons and fortunes were made responsible for unequal and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppression of the Imperial government; and the pusillanimous youth preferred the penance of a monastic, to the dangers of a military life. The affrighted provincials of every rank, who fled before the barbarians, found shelter and subsistence; whole legions were buried in these religious sanctuaries; and the same cause which relieved the distress of individuals impaired the strength and fortitude of the empire." (*Ibid.*)

Thus, the monastic life swept through the empire like a pestilence, attacking both sexes, all ages, all classes of society, the rural and the urban population, the poor equally with the rich. Everywhere, it provided for cold women a refuge from repugnant coverture, a retreat where, with the sanction of the Church, with the applause of society, and

with the approbation of their parents and friends they might escape from marriage and motherhood. The enforced maternity of these women entirely ceased. Piety, devotion, abnegation, continence, obedience, and virtue were considered synonymous with virginity, sterility, monasticism. Their possessors, because of religious motives, withdrew from those carnal relations which alone could give them children to inherit their virtues. That residuum of the population least moved by piety or religious zeal, not making vows of continence or of chastity, nor keeping them if made, was left to replenish the earth. In the brief period of two generations, the perennial sterilization of the virtuous completely changed the character of the population. Conscience subtracted conscience from the race. Wherever the Christian religion was most successfully preached and was most devoutly believed, each successive generation of men and women were more debased than their predecessors.

55. From the completeness and the rapidity of the Christian decline, mathematical law would expect to find the Christian group influenced by a factor stronger and more universal than any of the group factors which, in earlier Roman history, had caused the slower fall of the smaller pagan groups. The evidence here given exactly meets this expectation. The colder women of the earlier pagan groups escaped marriage and maternity through their selfishness, luxury, and vice. The least selfish, the least wealthy, or the least vicious, might still be fruitful; so that the decline of these groups was gradual and partial, having been retarded by the continued fruitfulness of the least vicious or the least cold. In the Christian communion of the fourth century, the immediate cause of decline was reversed. A sterile virginity was urged upon the faithful as meritorious in itself, pleasing to God, and the attainment of the highest ideals of the Church. Instead of sterilizing the most selfish and the most vicious, it subtracted from posterity the most religious and the most holy. The institutions where sterility was consecrated were called "religious houses," their inmates

known as "religious." The Christian decline was as much swifter than the pagan decline, as piety is stronger than vice.

The chronological evidence of history is not less important. The dates of the new doctrine and the decline of the Christian power follow exactly in the order expected. It was in 341 A.D. that the religious sterilization of the pious was brought by Athanasius to Rome, whence it swiftly spread to the European provinces. During the next generation, the colder virgins of the Christian empire refused to become the fruitful brides of men, and became the sterile brides of Christ. It was during this generation that there must be born those children who would constitute the legions of fighting men necessary for imperial defense in the last quarter of the fourth century and at the beginning of the fifth. It was precisely in this period, that is from the reign of Gratian (375–383) onward, that the Roman troops became impotent, unable to bear arms or armor, and that the Roman army finally disappeared. If it be supposed that the spread of monasticism from Rome to the empire's European provinces occupied twenty-five years, then the quarter of a century from the death of Gratian to the total disappearance of the Roman army follows with chronological exactness. It was during the reign of Gratian that the impotence of Christian troops began to be noticed, and it was twenty-five years later that the Roman army disappeared.

"It is the just and important observation of Vegetius, that the infantry was invariably covered with defensive armour from the foundation of the city to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline and the disuse of exercise rendered the soldiers less able and less willing to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore; and they successively obtained the permission of laying aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword and the formidable *pilum*, which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands." (Gibbon, *Ibid.*, Chap. XXVII.)

In the campaign of 400–402 the imperial troops were barbarians, led by Stilicho a barbarian general. In 404, Rome celebrated for the last time a victory over foreign invaders. In 406, the Christian army disappeared.

"It is strange how rapidly at this period the Roman army in the West disappears. After the operations in Tuscany in 405 and those in southern Gaul in 406 no more is heard of it. When in 408 the Visigoths for the second time advance through Italy to attack Rome no army bars their way. In the thirteen years from the time of the death of Theodosius the Great an army of 250,000 men, comprising the best fighting troops of the whole empire and many notable Roman legions with long and glorious traditions, who could inscribe on their standards a long list of victories, many of them gained only a few years before, simply vanishes. There is no longer a field army. Henceforth the Goths make their attacks against the cities, but of the army, which from the mouth of the Rhine to Belgrade had stood in defence of the Roman dominions and which, had it still existed would have opposed these foes in the field, no vestige remains." (Gen. Young, *East and West Through Fifteen Centuries*, Chap. XVII.)

56. At the beginning of the fourth century, the constitution of the empire had become oriental; the diversity of authority, customs, and laws of the different provinces was abolished. In the first half of the fourth century, a new inquisitorial criminal procedure was substituted for the accusatory procedure of Roman law. The new criminal procedure imposed the will of the government upon all its subjects, changing substantive law from a definition of a cause of action to a rule imposing universal obedience. An oriental system of taxation swept, annually, into the imperial treasury all the gains of industry, so that the subjects of the empire could no longer accumulate wealth. Finally, Christianity was imposed by an absolute government upon all its subjects, so that the diversity of religious groups entirely ceased.

In temporal matters, therefore, the geographical area

covered by the Roman empire presented at this time an aspect of singular uniformity in contrast to the continuous diversity which had prevailed for a thousand years. The imperial subjects constituted but a single group reduced to a common impotence, to an equal poverty, to a single religion, and to a universal obedience to imperial rule. In spiritual matters, this single group was now taught and eagerly received the doctrine of the monastic life. For all its members who were Christians by spiritual conviction, this doctrine sterilized the most pious and particularly the most chaste. For the remainder of the population, Christian only by imperial decree, it offered to all who could resist sexual temptation a refuge from danger and want. It was in the last half of the fourth century that this doctrine swept the empire. It was this generation of the imperial subjects whose children were to be of age to fight in the first decade of the fifth century. And it was in the first decade of the fifth century that no fighting men appeared. The pagans among the imperial subjects had long adopted those lax sexual unions which reproduced only ardent and willing mothers. The Christians had now sterilized their cold women by preaching to them the holiness of virginity. In a single generation, the spirit of the imperial population had changed from European to oriental.

When Lucullus beat an army of Asiatics twenty times the number of his own forces "the Romans could not but blush," says Strabo, "and deride themselves for putting on armour against such pitiful slaves." At the end of the fourth century, the Christian empire had copied Asia in every respect—in government, in criminal procedure, in taxation, and in the selection of ardent women for motherhood. In the next generation the Christians were only pitiful slaves.

CHAPTER VI

EASTERN EMPIRE

57. Despite the fall of the Western Empire of Rome, the barbarian invasion left nearly untouched the vast and populous area of the Eastern Empire ruled from Constantinople.

"That empire, after Rome was barbarous, still embraced the nations whom she had conquered beyond the Hadriatic, and as far as the frontiers of Ethiopia and Persia. Justinian reigned over sixty-four provinces and nine hundred and thirty-five cities; his dominions were blessed by nature with the advantages of soil, situation, and climate, and the improvements of human art had been perpetually diffused along the coast of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Nile from ancient Troy to the Egyptian Thebes. Abraham had been relieved by the well-known plenty of Egypt; the same country, a small and populous tract, was still capable of exporting each year two hundred and sixty thousand quarters of wheat for the use of Constantinople; and the capital of Justinian was supplied with the manufactures of Sidon fifteen centuries after they had been celebrated in the poems of Homer. The annual powers of vegetation, instead of being exhausted by two thousand harvests, were renewed and invigorated by skilful husbandry, rich manure, and seasonable repose. The breed of domestic animals was infinitely multiplied. Plantations, buildings, and the instruments of labour and luxury, which are more durable than the term of human life, were accumulated by the care of successive generations. Tradition preserved, and experience simplified, the humble practice of the arts; society was enriched by the division of labour and the facility of exchange; and every Roman was lodged, clothed, and subsisted by the industry of a thousand hands." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter XL.)

Here, then, was a great, an old, a wealthy, a learned, a populous, and a Christian region where civilization was scarcely afflicted by the rude savages of the North. Twelve centuries earlier, the Romans, in a rude and tiny city, had, seemingly fortuitously, certainly unconsciously, adopted the means of psychological selection which so augmented the spirit of succeeding generations that they became in time the masters of the world. In the 6th century A.D., the powers and the opportunities of the Eastern Empire exceeded, beyond comparison or computation, the powers or opportunities of Rome six centuries before Christ. Yet the Eastern Empire as steadily declined as Rome had steadily advanced. The decline of the one was no less certain, and its causes no less natural, than the advance of the other. These causes will be apparent in the contrast which history exhibits between the government and the social usages of the Eastern Empire and the government and social usages of early Rome.

58. The Eastern empire was rich and powerful only in material and visible things. In spiritual and invisible things it was as poor as early Rome had been rich; and by the religious sterilization of the chaste and pious it was continuously impoverished. There was no augmentation of the nervous organization, no spiritual life or growth, no increase of spiritual stature. Its inhabitants called themselves Romans, and its Church called itself Christian; but the outstanding fact of its history for a thousand years was the entire repudiation of everything which distinguished Rome from an Asiatic despotism, and Christianity from an oriental religion.

From the reign of Constantine down to its capture by the Ottoman Turks, Constantinople was the capital of an empire that retained and perfected the Asiatic cast of government which it had inherited from the reign of Diocletian. Its substantive and adjective law, its relations of ruler and subject, its administration, taxation, criminal procedure, rights of life and liberty and property, the servile obedience

and lethal conformity imposed upon its freemen, even its slavery and gelded slaves, all were Asiatic. So also was its Church. Christian by name, it abandoned spiritual truth, spiritual worship, spiritual guidance, spiritual weapons, spiritual life, all the vast spiritual field that separated and distinguished the teachings of Jesus from the older religions of the East. From these it turned to an idolatrous worship of visible things, and to a cruel theology supported by carnal weapons, a pompous ritual, an imposing hierarchy, and a merciless inquisition. All things temporal and spiritual were controlled by government and Church, which together enforced on a servile and spiritless population uniform obedience to secular and sacerdotal commands. The empire's laws were fixed in codes, its theology in dogmas, its worship in images, and every successive generation was born to a slavish obedience to these visible things. Each child opened its eyes on the unchanging aspects of an Asiatic world.

In examining the causes for the rise of pagan Rome and of the first three centuries of the Christian communion, the same factor was found in operation in each of the rising groups. Likewise in examining the causes for the decline of the Roman patricians, next of the Roman plebeians, and lastly of the provincial pagans, the same factor was found operating on all three groups. It appears again in full operation in the decline of the last Christian group of the Western empire which brought that empire to its close. The fall of Christian civilization in the West was hastened and dramatized by the catastrophe of barbarian invasion. The decline of Christian civilization in the Eastern empire was the effect of internal spiritual decay without the crushing impact of barbarian invasion. An examination of the declining Eastern empire then would be expected to disclose:

I. That the factors which had caused the rise of successive groups in pagan Rome, and of the Christian group

for the first three centuries, would be found wanting in the Eastern empire, and

II. That the factors which had caused the decline of each successive pagan group, and finally of the Christian empire of the West, would be found present in the Christian empire of the East.

History justifies these mathematical expectations.

59. The decline of the Eastern empire must be ascribed to its spiritual decay; and the underlying cause of this was the adverse selection of mothers. The orthodox Christian Church legalized and enforced the worship of all its inhabitants, directed their modes of thought, spied upon their opinions, speech, letters, and conduct. Non-conformity was a sin visited with spiritual penance and a crime punishable by the secular powers. An Asiatic criminal procedure enabled Christian emperors of the East to extinguish religious diversity as it had never been extinguished by the pagan emperors of the West. In the profession of religion, the Eastern empire was a single group, so that the Church's errors afflicted alike all classes of its inhabitants and every succeeding generation. First of these in time and importance was the religious sterilization of cold women.

In examining the causes for the rise of pagan Rome under the laws of Numa, of the Christian Church during its first three centuries, and of the decline of the Eastern empire while professedly Christian, this is the historical difference that first meets the eye: The Romans under Numa, and the Christians for three centuries, augmented the spirit of each succeeding generation by a favorable selection of mothers; while the Christians of the Eastern empire after the fourth century continuously debased the spirit of posterity by an unfavorable selection of mothers. The Church exalted the spiritual value of sterility and looked upon marriage as only the carnal union of man and woman, mutually animated by the same desires. Accordingly, neither ecclesiastical nor secular authority was exerted in favor of indissoluble monogamous marriage; and free divorce was

sanctioned by Church and state.[1] "The successor of Justinian yielded to the prayers of his unhappy subjects and restored the liberty of divorce by mutual consent." (Gibbon, *Ibid.*, Chap. XLIX.)

Thus, the cold woman's escape from unwelcome motherhood was made easy, honorable, and certain. If she was pious, she joined a convent, and did not marry at all. If she was selfish and worldly, she divorced the husband who would have made her fruitful. Religious and worldly sterilization completely extinguished sexual coldness, and with it the augmented nervous organizations by which civilizations rise. From this one underlying cause, which was not only active but increased with each succeeding generation, developed all the minor and later symptoms of spiritual decay in national and religious life.

60. Convents and divorce more effectively sterilized the cold women of Constantinople and of the other luxurious cities of the empire, than of the rude inhabitants of remote provinces. In the cities, there was no class of the population which enjoyed a favorable selection of mothers. Among the rich, religious conformity and economic independence combined to sterilize women of augmented nervous organization. Among the poor, consisting of a rationed proletariat, the constant equality of subsistence received from governmental bounty gave a continuous advantage to the groups of low nervous organization, whose prolific women bore easily children with smaller heads. In the heart of the empire the security from the hostile incursions of pagans preserved the regular administration of the laws, and the unbroken orthodoxy of the Church; and both of these were inimical to the compulsory maternity of cold women. Near the borders of the empire, none of these

[1] "A Christian writer, at the beginning of the fifth century, complains that men changed their wives as quickly as their clothes, and that marriage chambers were set up as easily as booths in a market." (Milman, *History of Christianity*, Bk. IV, Chap. I.) This was a century after the empire had become Christian and a century before the reign of Justinian.

conditions could be maintained. Invasion upset the authority of both Church and state, interrupted the administration of the laws and the search for heresy, destroyed religious houses, and conferred religious freedom upon the inhabitants whose lives it threatened. Most of these inhabitants were poor, rude and unlettered pioneers; but, also, most of them were free, and none of them were rationed. It would be expected, therefore, that such genius and valor as the empire enjoyed was contributed by this class; and that the servile inhabitants of the cities were continuously ruled by a succession of emperors and dynasties sprung from the poorest of the people and from the more remote parts of the empire. This expectation history proves correct. In the long succession of eight centuries it is impossible to find a dynasty whose origin can be traced to the Greek aristocracy or "upper classes" of the empire. Of all the nicknames by which successive emperors were designated only once does there appear "Porphyrogenitus," or "born in the purple." The empire was never ruled by a family sprung from its capital.

The record begins with Marcian in the fifth century and continues to the reign of Baldwin, Count of Flanders in the thirteenth.

I.—450–457 *Marcian*
A Thracian of humble birth.

II.—457–473 *Leo the Butcher*
Another Thracian.

III.—474–491 *Zeno, the Isaurian*
Regarded by the Greeks as a barbarian.

IV.—491–518 *Anastasius I*
Called Dicorus, native of Epidamnus.

V.—518–527 *Justin I*
A Thracian peasant from Tauresium who entered the imperial guard as a common soldier.[1]

[1] It is interesting to observe that all these five emperors were past middle age, and some of them were old men, when they ascended the

VI.—527–602 *Justinian Dynasty*

Justinian was born near a city now called Sophia in the present kingdom of Bulgaria of a Sclavonic family. "His father's name was Istok, of which Sabbatios is a translation. His mother and sister were named Wiglenitza. His own native name was Uprawda, corresponding to *jus, Justitia.*" (Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans*, Chap. III, Sect. I.)

VII.—602–610—*Phocas*

A centurion of such obscure condition that the emperor Maurice was ignorant of the name of his rival.

VIII.—610–716 *Heraclian Dynasty*

Heraclius was the son of an exarch of Africa.

IX.—717–797 *Isaurian Dynasty*

Leo the Isaurian was an itinerant peddler, a native of Isauria.

X.—802–820 *Nicephorus*

Born in Seleucia, name unknown to people.

Michael, son-in-law of Nicephorus.

Leo the Armenian, General in the army.

XI.—820–867 *Amorian Dynasty*

Michael II (the Stammerer), born in the lowest ranks of society in Amorium, entered the army as a

---

throne. Marcian was 58; Leo I, 47; Zeno, 48; Anastasius, 60; and Justin, 68. This is important evidence of the decline of genius from an unfavorable selection of mothers. When the selection of mothers is favorable, genius is continually appearing in young men, and each new generation, as it is superior to the old, crowds rapidly into power. This is observable in all rising civilizations. Roman history from the beginning of the Republic to Pompey the Great is studded with the names of young men. Italy furnishes the same testimony in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and England and France from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. When genius no longer appears in the young and the new generation does not crowd out the old, it is certain evidence of a declining civilization.

private, quickly rose to the rank of general.
Theophilus, his son, well-educated.
Michael III, son of Theophilus, called "The Drunkard."

XII.—867–1057 *Basilian Dynasty*
Basil the Macedonian, born in Adrianople on a small farm, educated a slave in a foreign land after capture by the Bulgarians, won freedom after defeating two armies of barbarians with other Roman youths at the Euxine and arrived in Constantinople without friends or money.
Leo VI, his son.
Alexander, brother of Leo.
Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus) nephew of Alexander.
Romanus II, son of Constantine.

XIII.—1059–1204 *Comnenian Dynasty*
Isaac I, son of Manuel, general, patrimonial estate in district of Castamona near the Euxine—wealthy family.
Alexius—his nephew.
John—son of Alexius.
Manuel—son of John.
Alexius II—son of Manuel.
Andronicus—son of Alexius I.
Isaac Angelus—grandson of Andronicus.

XIV.—1204–1222 *Houses of Flanders and Courtenay*
All of the *Western* not the Eastern church.

61. In the rise of pagan Rome, and of the Christian communion for three centuries, there was always present a free proletariat, whose spiritual character was continuously improving. In the cities, the urban proletariat began, from the time of Augustus, to be rationed by the government; and this practice continued throughout the Western and Eastern empires wherever it was not stopped by invasion. Accordingly, the urban proletariat was everywhere debased to the condition of a rabble, without valor or intellect, unfit for freedom and incapable of resisting either a domestic

tyrant or a foreign foe. But, until the reign of Theodosius, the empire had never been without a free agricultural peasantry, which, after the first century A.D. was mostly Christian and was improved by spiritual leadership. In all the heart of the Eastern empire—in all the provinces where civilization had been handed down from antiquity—Church and state had combined to deprive the agricultural population of spiritual leadership and of freedom. When the Christian Church became a state Church, orthodoxy fixed and sealed by law, and heresy stamped out by inquisition, spiritual guidance abdicated, and carnal powers were enthroned.

As the nervous organization of posterity diminished, energy, enterprise, and ingenuity declined, so that the empire no longer sent forth pioneers, occupied new provinces, or tapped new sources of wealth. Spy government enormously increased the numbers and rapacity of the imperial and ecclesiastical establishments. The land swarmed with the consuming hierarchy of extortion, and it was said that those who received the taxes were greater in number than those who paid them. The burden of taxation was enormously increased, yet Justinian complained that one-third of his revenues never reached the imperial treasury. The cultivators of the soil were regarded simply as intruments for feeding and clothing the army, the court, and the Church, and the whole of the obtainable surplus of their production was annually taken from them, the producers, to be consumed by the imperial and ecclesiastical establishments. No economy or industry could enable a tax payer to accumulate wealth; while any accident, a fire, an inundation, an earthquake, or a hostile incursion of barbarians might plunge a whole province into irrecoverable ruin. Imperial legislation was framed to meet the ever increasing need for revenue,—the imperial subjects were even forbidden to change their occupation, to move about, or to leave the city or country. Those who had been freemen gradually acquired the status of serfs.

"Laws were enacted to fix every class of society in its actual condition with regard to the revenue. The son of a member of the curia was bound to take his father's place; the son of a landed proprietor could neither become a tradesman nor a soldier, unless he had a brother who could replace his father as a payer of the land-tax. The son of an artisan was bound to follow his father's profession that the amount of the capitation might not be diminished. Every corporation or guild had the power of compelling the children of its members to complete its numbers. Fiscal conservatism became the spirit of Roman legislation. To prevent the land beyond the limits of a municipality from falling out of cultivation, by the free inhabitants of the rural districts quitting their lands in order to better their condition in the towns, the laws gradually attached them to the soil, and converted them into serfs." (Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans*, Chap. II.)

During the rise of pagan Rome, and of the Christians for the first three centuries, there had always been a free and unrationed agricultural peasantry. In the ten centuries from Numa to Theodosius, it appears and reappears in history's pages. As often as the aristocratic groups of augmented nervous organization reached their peak and disappeared, their place was supplied by a new group rising from below. In the Eastern empire, this process finally stopped. The extinction of a free proletariat must be reckoned as one of the chief causes of the Eastern empire's decay.[1]

[1] "The state of society in the Eastern empire underwent far greater changes than the imperial administration. The race of wealthy nobles, whose princely fortunes and independent bearing had excited the fears and the avarice of the early Cæsars, had been long extinct. The imperial court and household included all the higher classes in the capital. The Senate was now only a corps of officials, and the people had no position in the State but that of tax-payers. While the officers of the civil, finance, and judicial departments, the clergy and the military, were the servants of the emperor, the people, the Roman people, were his slaves. No connecting link of common interest or national sympathy united the various classes as one body, and connected them with the emperor. The only bond of union was one of universal oppression, as everything in the imperial government had become subordinate to the necessity of supply-

62. Besides the economic slavery imposed upon all the imperial and orthodox subjects by the taxation and tithes of state and Church, there remained the ancient institution of human slavery in its most aggravated form. The status of "slave" was nothing new; it had described and distinguished the condition of vast numbers of human beings of every ancient civilization. But, in the enlarging boundaries of rising civilizations, war and conquest had continuously recruited the ranks of slaves by captives newly taken from the free. As late in Roman history as the conquests of Julius Cæsar and the reign of Augustus, a large proportion of the slaves on Italian soil were captive men taken in freedom and sold into slavery. Slave uprisings sometimes occurred, and the menace was always present; so that their masters feared to give the slaves a distinctive dress lest they should learn their own numbers and power. In the contracting boundaries of the Eastern empire the slave had ceased to be a captive man; slavery was an inherited status; the slave was live-stock, bred upon his owner's estate. The servile uprisings of the second and first centuries B.C. no longer occurred under the Christian emperors, and even the fear of them had departed. It is in the long decline of the Eastern empire that the effects of inherited slavery can be best studied.

The first distinct selective influence adverse to slavery as a class was evidently the occasional emancipation of individuals. Slaves whose abilities or opportunities were

---

ing the treasury with money. The fiscal severity of the Roman government had for centuries been gradually absorbing all the accumulated wealth of society, as the possession of large fortunes was almost sure to entail their confiscation. Even if the wealth of the higher classes in the provinces escaped this fate, it was, by the constitution of the empire, rendered responsible for the deficiencies which might occur in the taxes of the districts from which it was obtained; and thus the rich were everywhere rapidly sinking to the level of the general poverty. The destructon of the higher classes of society had swept away all the independent landed proprietors before Justinian commenced his series of reforms in the provinces." (Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans*, Chap. III, Sect. I.)

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE LIBRARY
WINONA, MINNESOTA

singularly great often laid their masters under obligations of gratitude for which the slave's freedom was the customary reward. In the Eastern empire this class was large enough to receive a distinctive name and classification under certain sections of the Justinian code. They were called "libertines." Whatever their numbers, the average of ability among the libertines must have been decidedly higher than the average of the class from which they sprung. They often rose to power, and the free inhabitants of the empire who, by imperial confiscation had been reduced to slavery, sometimes found themselves ruled by an ex-slave who by imperial favor had been raised to freedom. But it is apparent that the perennial subtraction of the ablest from the whole class of slaves must have reduced the average ability of all the remainder.

The second and greater cause for the deterioration of slaves under inherited slavery, is to be found in the terms of their mating and reproduction. That "family" life, meaning the dependence of wife and children upon the earning ability of husband and father, which in free and monogamous societies is so effective in continuing and reproducing the strain of cold women, is unknown to slaves. The marriage ceremony may or may not be allowed to them. But marriage is without economic significance. Slaves are chattels and their economic condition is dependent upon the wealth or generosity of their owner. Having no property of their own, having nothing to lose by idleness, intemperance or extravagance, and nothing to gain by industry, avarice or frugality, each successive generation is deprived of the selective influences which spring from freedom and property rights. Slaves are on rations, and the rations are equal, if not to every slave, at least to every slave of each class. On equal rations, ardent and prolific women multiply much faster than cold or partially cold ones. The woman who under these conditions can, and does, bring many children into the world, stamps her character upon posterity. The slave woman who was partially

cold and bore fewer children was quickly exterminated and her characteristics wholly subtracted from the slave class. The result, therefore, of inherited slavery, was that after some generations there were no slaves except the descendants of a continuous line of ardent and prolific mothers. All sexual coldness in the slave class disappeared, and with it disappeared augmented nervous organizations, the love of freedom, the courage to rebel, the spirit of inquiry, acquisition, ambition and learning. The great revolts which had taken place among the newly enslaved, were no longer to be feared. The continuous normal reproduction of the willing female tended to bring the slaves down to the level of animals—content to be fed, mated, worked and driven.[1]

63. The history of the Eastern empire, from its final establishment under Arcadius to its destruction by the Crusaders, covers eight centuries of time. A most interesting comparison may be instituted between that history and the history of rising civilizations during a like period of eight centuries. In Rome, this would embrace the period from

[1] See Gibbon's account of the journey of Danielis from Patras to Constantinople in the ninth century, A.D.

"A matron of Peloponnesus, who had cherished the infant fortunes of Basil the Macedonian, was excited by tenderness or vanity to visit the greatness of her adopted son. In a journey of five hundred miles from Patras to Constantinople, her age or indolence declined the fatigue of a horse or carriage; the soft litter or bed of Danielis was transported on the shoulders of ten robust slaves, and, as they were relieved at easy disances, a band of three hundred was selected for the performance of this service. She was entertained in the Byzantine palace with filial reverence and the honours of a queen; and whatever might be the origin of her wealth, her gifts were not unworthy of the regal dignity. I have already described the fine and curious manufactures of Peloponnesus, of linen, silk, and woollen; but the most acceptable of her presents consisted in three hundred beautiful youths, of whom one hundred were eunuchs; "for she was not ignorant," says the historian, "that the air of the palace is more congenial to such insects, than a shepherd's dairy to the flies of the summer." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. LIII.)

It is evident that these slaves were not captive men. They were live stock, bred on the owner's estate.

Numa to Trajan. In France, from Clovis to Philip Augustus; or from Hugh Capet to Louis XIV. In England, from William the Conqueror to Victoria.

There can be no period of eight centuries without national vicissitudes. But, in spite of these, the upward or downward trend of national civilization may be seen, and the reasons for it ascertained and understood. In all the orthodox lands ruled from the Bosphorus, there was no group which enjoyed a favorable selection of mothers, there was no freedom, no diversity, no private property which could be withheld from the state, no independent class. From the lowest to the highest, the lives, liberty, and property of all the subjects of the Eastern empire were equally subservient to the sovereign's will. A dead level of obedience oppressed them all. If the Church be alleged as an exception, it must be observed that the churchmen and the religious abided in sterility, refused to multiply or even to reproduce themselves, but perpetually recruited their numbers from the servile laity.

In all the rising civilizations that have been suggested for comparison, none of these things were wholly true. Some part of the population was always improving posterity by a favorable selection of mothers, some of the rulers' subjects were free, there was some diversity, some independence, some enjoyment of rights of private property, some class of nobles and freemen who held life, liberty, and property secure from the oppression of the crown. They were often a minority, but, nevertheless, they were a fruitful minority; and by their increase posterity was improved.

Among the wealthiest, the patricians, the nobles, and those of inherited wealth, the emancipation of woman, perfected centuries before throughout the Roman empire, was a traditional and firmly established fact. In these families, woman's share of property was firmly secured to her. Economic independence enabled the cold woman to refuse marriage. An equal right of divorce enabled her to escape it. And Christianity preserved in the Eastern em-

pire that "secondary marriage," or voluntary union of a free citizen and a concubine which had already become established and protected in the laws of pagan Rome. Economic independence and liberty of divorce, therefore, promoted the sterility of cold women. Concubinage multiplied the offspring of ardent ones. The Eastern empire, in respect to its social usages, became gradually oriental. Cold women of a type that earlier Rome had forced to be prolific, were now barren. Ardent ones who in an earlier age would have suffered seduction and ruin, were now fruitful. The spiritual chastity, which had once distinguished and ennobled the Roman matrons, was a thing of the past. Husbands entrusted their honor to the vigilance of eunuchs, rather than to the virtues of their wives. And that species of human property, always significant of the domestic usage which begets an oriental posterity, greatly multiplied in Constantinople.[1]

Under Justinian the orientalization of the Eastern empire was complete; and was never afterward abandoned. The laws under which the people lived, the sentiments which they professed, the language in which these sentiments were couched, all were oriental.[2]

[1] Eunuchs commanded a higher price than other slaves. "If the option of a slave was bequeathed to several legatees, they drew lots, and the losers were entitled to their share of his value: ten pieces of gold for a common servant or maid under ten years; if above that age, twenty; if they knew a trade, thirty; notaries or writers, fifty; mid-wives or physicians, sixty; eunuchs under ten years, thirty pieces, above, fifty; if tradesmen, seventy (Cod. I, vi., tit. xliii., leg. 3). These legal prices are generally below those of the market." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XLIV, Footnote.)

[2] "The pleasure of the emperor has the vigour and effect of law, since the Roman people, by the royal law, have transferred to their prince the full extent of their own power and sovereignty." (Institut. I. i., tit. II., No. 6; Pandect. I, i., tit. iv., leg. 1, Cod. Justinian I, i., tit. xvii, leg. 1, No. 7.)

"What interest or passion," exclaims Theophilus in the court of Justinian, "can reach the calm and sublime elevation of the monarch? He is already master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and those

The space of eight centuries saw many changing dynasties, good, bad, able, dissolute, weak, and strong occupants of the imperial throne; but in all that time there was not one attempt to set up a free government or a republic. The citizens might suffer under tyranny, but they could not live without it.

---

who have incurred his displeasure are already numbered with the dead." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XLIV.)

"But the justice of Theophilus was fashioned on the model of the oriental despots, who, in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult the reason or passion of the moment, without measuring the sentence by the law, or the penalty by the offence. A poor woman threw herself at the emperor's feet to complain of a powerful neighbour, the brother of the empress, who had raised his palace-wall to such an inconvenient height, that her humble dwelling was excluded from light and air. On the proof of the fact, instead of granting like an ordinary judge, sufficient or ample damages to the plaintiff, the sovereign adjudged to her use and benefit the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with this extravagant satisfaction; his zeal converted a civil trespass into a criminal act; and the unfortunate patrician was stripped and scourged in the public place of Constantinople." (*Ibid.*, Chap. XLVIII.)

"The mode of *adoration*, of falling prostrate on the ground and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Diocletian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy."

"A lethargy of servitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks; in the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness."

"But these advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and shame of a degenerate people. They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony: they read, they praised, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation." (*Ibid.*, Chap. LIII.)

CHAPTER VII

ISLAM

64. Before continuing the examination of social changes in that region of the Roman Empire which continued to be Christian, it seems best to observe the changes which took place in its southern provinces under the influence of the Moslem religion. Until the 7th century A.D., Christianity continued to exert in these regions the influences which, by exalting religious sterility and monasticism, effectually subtracted piety, virtue, continence and abnegation from posterity. The rising power and rapid spread of Islam in the 7th and 8th centuries measures not so much the purity and worth of that religion, as it does the debasement of the Christian inhabitants. For several centuries, Christianity yielded to Islam an enormous advantage. The pious and devout followers of the new religion were invited to become fruitful and to renew their virtues in each succeeding generation. In a century, the resulting change transformed the lands where it occurred. Spirituality, which had fallen into a death-like torpor, was quickened and renewed.

"In a few centuries the fanatics of Mohammed had altogether changed their appearance. Great philosophers, physicians, mathematicians, astronomers, alchemists, grammarians, had arisen among them. Letters and science in all their various departments, were cultivated." (Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, Vol. I.)

The converts of Islam were taught to worship a pure abstraction. Always and everywhere this teaching stimulates the intellect and effectually frees posterity. Each

succeeding generation can form its own conception of God. The Moslem converts were taught the wickedness of human sacrifice for religion, and the holiness and virtue of marriage. Thus, while Christians were enchaining posterity by image worship and were debasing it by the perennial sterilization of the pious and holy, the Moslems secured to each succeeding generation its own conception of God and improved posterity by preaching marriage and fruitfulness to the conscientious and the devout. Moslem civilization, in short, enjoyed, for about three hundred years, the same improving factors afterward observed in Christian Europe for a similar space of time, from the 16th to the 19th century.

65. Between Moslems and Christians in the 8th and 9th centuries, the contrast was very great.

"From the barbarism of the native people of Europe, who could scarcely be said to have emerged from the savage state, unclean in person, benighted in mind, inhabiting huts in which it was a mark of wealth if there were bulrushes on the floor and straw mats against the wall; miserably fed on beans, vetches, roots, and even the bark of trees; clad in garments of untanned skin, or at the best of leather—perennial in durability, but not conducive to personal purity—a state in which the pomp of royalty was sufficiently and satisfactorily manifested in the equipage of the sovereign, an ox-cart, drawn by not less than two yokes of cattle, quickened in their movements by the goads of pedestrian serfs, whose legs were wrapped in wisps of straw; from a people, devout believers in all the wild fictions of shrine-miracles and preposterous relics: from the degradation of a base theology, and from the disputes of ambitious ecclesiastics for power, it is pleasant to turn to the south-west corner of the continent, where, under auspices of a very different kind, the irradiations of light were to break forth. The crescent in the West was soon to pass eastward to its full." (Draper, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Chap. II.)

"Scarcely had the Arabs become firmly settled in Spain when they commenced a brilliant career. Adopting what had now become the established policy of the Commanders of the Faithful in Asia, the Emirs of Cordova distinguished themselves as patrons of learning, and set an example of refinement strongly contrasting with the condition of the

native European princes. Cordova, under their administration, at its highest point of prosperity, boasted of more than two hundred thousand houses, and more than a million of inhabitants. After sunset, a man might walk through it in a straight line for ten miles by the light of the public lamps. Seven hundred years after this time there was not so much as one public lamp in London. Its streets were solidly paved. In Paris, centuries subsequently, whoever stepped over his threshold on a rainy day stepped up to his ankles in mud. Other cities, as Granada, Seville, Toledo, considered themselves rivals of Cordova. The palaces of the khalifs were magnificently decorated. Those sovereigns might well look down with supercilious contempt on the dwellings of the rulers of Germany, France, and England, which were scarcely better than stables—chimneyless, windowless, and with a hole in the roof for the smoke to escape, like the wigwams of certain Indians.

"To these Saracens we are indebted for many of our personal comforts. Religiously cleanly, it was not possible for them to clothe themselves according to the fashion of the natives of Europe, in a garment unchanged till it dropped to pieces of itself, a loathsome mass of vermin, stench, and rags. No Arab who had been a minister of state, or the associate or antagonist of a sovereign, would have offered such a spectacle as the corpse of Thomas à Becket when his haircloth shirt was removed. They taught us the use of the often-changed and often-washed undergarment of linen or cotton, which still passes among ladies under its old Arabic name.

"The khalifs of the West carried out the precepts of Ali, the fourth successor of Mohammed, in the patronage of literature. They established libraries in all their chief towns; it is said that not fewer than seventy were in existence. To every mosque was attached a public school, in which the children of the poor were taught to read and write and instructed in the precepts of the Koran. For those in easier circumstances there were academies usually arranged in twenty-five or thirty apartments, each calculated for accommodating four students; the academy being presided over by a rector. In Cordova, Granada, and other great cities, there were universities frequently under the superintendence of Jews; the Mohammedan maxim being that the real learning of a man is of more public importance than any particular religious opinions he may entertain. In this they followed the example of the Asiatic khalif, Haroun

Alraschid, who actually conferred the superintendence of his schools on John Masué, a Nestorian Christian. The Mohammedan liberality was in striking contrast with the intolerance of Europe. Indeed, it may be doubted whether at this time any European nation is sufficiently advanced to follow such an example. In the universities some of the professors of polite literature gave lectures on Arabic classical works; others taught rhetoric or composition, or mathematics, or astronomy. From these institutions many of the practices observed in our colleges were derived. They held Commencements, at which poems were read and orations delivered in presence of the public. They had also, in addition to these schools of general learning, professional ones, particularly for medicine.

"Pharmacopœias were published by the schools, improvements on the old ones of the Nestorians: to them may be traced the introduction of many Arabic words, such as syrup, julep, elixir, still used among apothecaries. A competent scholar might furnish not only an interesting, but valuable book, founded on the remaining relics of the Arab vocabulary; for, in whatever direction we may look, we meet, in the various pursuits of peace and war, of letters and of science, Saracenic vestiges. Our dictionaries tell us that such is the origin of admiral, alchemy, alcohol, algebra, chemise, cotton, and hundreds of other words. The Saracens commenced the application of chemistry, both to the theory and practice of medicine, in the explanation of the functions of the human body and in the cure of its diseases. Nor was their surgery behind their medicine. Albucasis, of Cordova, shrinks not from the performance of the most formidable operations in his own and in the obstetrical art; the actual cautery and the knife are used without hesitation. He has left us ample descriptions of the surgical instruments then employed; and from him we learn that, in operations on females in which considerations of delicacy intervened, the services of properly instructed women were secured. How different was all this from the state of things in Europe: the Christian peasant, fever-stricken or overtaken by accident, hied to the nearest saint-shrine and expected a miracle; the Spanish Moor relied on the prescription or lancet, of his physician, or the bandage and knife of his surgeon.

"From the Hindus the Arabs learned arithmetic, especially that valuable invention termed by us the Arabic numerals, but honourably ascribed by them to its proper source, under

the designation of "Indian numerals." They also entitled their treatises on the subject "Systems of Indian Arithmetic." This admirable notation by nine digits and cipher occasioned a complete revolution in arithmetical computations. As in the case of so many other things, the Arab impress is upon it; our word cipher, and its derivatives, ciphering, etc., recall the Arabic word *tsaphara* or *ciphra*, the name for the 0, and meaning that which is blank or void. Mohammed Ben Musa, said to be the earliest of the Saracen authors on algebra, and who made the great improvement of substituting sines for chords in trigonometry, wrote also on this Indian system. He lived at the end of the ninth century; before the end of the tenth it was in common use among the African and Spanish mathematicians. Ebn Junis, A.D. 1008, used it in his astronomical works. From Spain it passed into Italy, its singular advantage in commercial computation causing it to be eagerly adopted in the great trading cities. We still use the word algorithm in reference to calculations. The study of algebra was intently cultivated among the Arabs, who gave it the name it bears. Ben Musa, just referred to, was the inventor of the common method of solving quadratic equations. In the application of mathematics to astronomy and physics they had been long distinguished. Almaimon had determined with considerable accuracy the obliquity of the ecliptic. His result, with those of some other Saracen astronomers, is as follows:

A.D.	830	Almaimon	23	35′	52″
"	879	Albategnius, at Aracte	23	35	00
"	987	Aboul Wefa, at Bagdad	23	35	00
"	995	Aboul Rihau, with a quadrant of 25 feet radius	23	35	00
"	1080	Arzachael	23	34	00

Almaimon had also ascertained the size of the earth from the measurement of a degree on the shore of the Red Sea—an operation implying true ideas of its form, and in singular contrast with the doctrine of Constantinople and Rome. While the latter was asserting, in all its absurdity, the flatness of the earth, the Spanish Moors were teaching geography in their common schools from globes. In Africa, there was still preserved, with almost religious reverence, in the library at Cairo, one of brass, reputed to have belonged to the great astronomer, Ptolemy.

"Al Idrisi made one of silver for Roger II., of Sicily; and Gerbert used one which he had brought from Cordova in the school he established at Rheims. It cost a struggle of several centuries, illustrated by some martyrdoms, before the dictum of Lactantius and Augustine could be overthrown. Among problems of interest that were solved may be mentioned the determination of the length of the year by Albategnius and Thebit Ben Corrah; and increased accuracy was given to the correction of astronomical observations by Alhazen's great discovery of atmospheric refraction. Among the astronomers, some composed tables; some wrote on the measure of time; some on the improvement of clocks, for which purpose they were the first to apply the pendulum; some on instruments, as the astrolabe. The introduction of astronomy into Christian Europe has been attributed to the translation of the works of Mohammed Fargani. In Europe, also, the Arabs were the first to build observatories; the Giralda, or tower of Seville, was erected under the superintendence of Geber, the mathematician, A.D. 1196, for that purpose. Its fate was not a little characteristic. After the expulsion of the Moors it was turned into a belfry, the Spaniards not knowing what else to do with it.

"I have to deplore the systematic manner in which the literature of Europe has contrived to put out of sight our scientific obligations to the Mohammedans. Surely they cannot be much longer hidden. Injustice founded on religious rancour and national conceit cannot be perpetuated forever. What should the modern astronomer say when, remembering the contemporary barbarians of Europe, he finds the Arab Abul Hassan speaking of tubes, to the extremities of which ocular and object diopters, perhaps sights, were attached, as used at Meragha? What when he reads of the attempts of Abderrahman Sufi at improving the photometry of the stars? Are the astronomical tables of Ebn Junis (A.D. 1008), called the Hakemite tables, or the Ilkenio tables of Nasser Eddin Tasi, constructed at the great observatory just mentioned, Meragha, near Tauris, A.D. 1259, or the measurement of time by pendulum oscillations, and the methods of correcting astronomical tables by systematic observations—are such things worthless indications of the mental state? The Arab has left his intellectual impress on Europe, as, before long, Christendom will have to confess; he has indelibly written it in the heavens as any one may see who reads the names of the stars on a common celestial globe.

"Our obligations to the Spanish Moors in the arts of life are even more marked than in the higher branches of science, perhaps only because our ancestors were better prepared to take advantage of things connected with daily affairs. They set an example of skilful agriculture, the practice of which was regulated by a code of laws. Not only did they attend to the cultivation of plants, introducing very many new ones, they likewise paid great attention to the breeding of cattle, especially the sheep and horse. To them we owe the introduction of the great products, rice, sugar, cotton, and also, as we have previously observed, nearly all the fine garden and orchard fruits, together with many less important plants, as spinach and saffron. To them Spain owes the culture of silk; they gave to Xeres and Malaga their celebrity for wine. They introduced the Egyptian system of irrigation by flood-gates, wheels, and pumps. They also promoted many important branches of industry; improved the manufacture of textile fabrics, earthenware, iron, steel; the Toledo sword-blades were everywhere prized for their temper. The Arabs, on their expulsion from Spain, carried the manufacture of a kind of leather, in which they were acknowledged to excel, to Morocco, from which country the leather itself has now taken its name. They also introduced inventions of a more ominous kind—gunpowder and artillery. The cannon they used appear to have been made of wrought iron. But perhaps they more than compensated for these evil contrivances by the introduction of the mariner's compass.

"The mention of the mariner's compass might lead us correctly to infer that the Spanish Arabs were interested in commercial pursuits, a conclusion to which we should also come when we consider the revenues of some of their khalifs. That of Abderrahman III. is stated at five and a half million sterling—a vast sum if considered by its modern equivalent, and far more than could possibly be raised by taxes on the produce of the soil. It probably exceeded the entire revenue of all the sovereigns of Christendom taken together. From Barcelona and other ports an immense trade with the Levant was maintained, but it was mainly in the hands of the Jews, who, from the first invasion of Spain by Musa, had ever been the firm allies and collaborators of the Arabs. Together they had participated in the dangers of the invasion; together they had shared its boundless success; together they had held in irreverent derision, nay, even in contempt, the woman-worshippers and poly-

theistic savages beyond the Pyrenees—as they mirthfully called those whose long-delayed vengeance they were in the end to feel; together they were expelled. Against such Jews as lingered behind, the hideous persecutions of the Inquisition were directed. But in the days of their prosperity they maintained a merchant marine of more than a thousand ships. They had factories and consuls on the Tanais. With Constantinople alone they maintained a great trade; it ramified from the Black Sea and East Mediterranean into the interior of Asia; it reached the ports of India and China, and extended along the African coast as far as Madagascar. Even in these commercial affairs the singular genius of the Jew and Arab shines forth. In the midst of the tenth century, when Europe was about in the same condition that Caffraria is now, enlightened Moors, like Abul Cassem, were writing treatises on the principles of trade and commerce. As on so many other occasions, on these affairs they have left their traces. The smallest weight they used in trade was the grain of barley, four of which were equal to one sweet pea, called in Arabic carat. We still use the grain as our unit of weight, and still speak of gold as being so many carats fine." (Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, Vol. II, passim.)

To place before the reader all the data as to the rise of Moslem civilization, it is necessary to quote in contrast to Draper's account of their brilliant attainments in Cordova, an earlier and contemporaneous description of the Saracens in the fourth century, as known to Ammianus Marcellinus:

"The Saracens, whose friendship and hostility were to us alike undesirable, rushing hither and thither, plundered in a moment whatever they could lay their hands on; just like a band of rapacious kites, who, when they catch a glimpse of their prey, swoop down upon it like lightning, and are off in a moment if they miss their mark. Among these tribes, which extend from Assyria to the cataracts of the Nile and the confines of the Blemmyæ, all are alike warriors, and half-naked, their only covering being a colored cloak reaching to the loins. By the help of their swift horses, and camels of active frame, in peace and war alike, they scour the whole country, to its most opposite limits. No man among them ever puts his hand to the plough, plants a tree, or seeks a livelihood by cultivating the soil. They wander

everlastingly over regions lying far and wide apart, without a home, without fixed settlements or laws. The same clime (*cælum*) never contents them long, nor are they ever satisfied with the occupation of a single district. Their life is one perpetual motion. Their wives they take on hire, and keep with them for a time fixed by previous agreement; and as this is a sort of wedlock, the bride brings to her future master a spear and a tent, with the privilege of leaving him after some specified day, should such be her pleasure. The licentious passion of both sexes is incredible. So wide are their wanderings, and so uninterrupted throughout their whole lives, that a woman weds in one spot, gives birth to her child in another, and brings up her family far away from either, without even being permitted to enjoy an opportunity of rest. All, without exception, live upon the flesh of wild animals; they have milk in abundance for their support, vegetables of all sorts, and such birds as they are enabled to capture by fowling. The majority of them we have seen to be entirely ignorant of the use of corn and wine. Thus much of this pernicious race of people." (Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xiv., § iv., I.)

66. The forces of Islam entered Spain in 711 A.D., fought and were defeated at the Battle of Tours in 732; retired from France to Spain, and there created in the caliphate of Cordova the brilliant civilization described by Draper—where they taught geography in their common schools from globes, and as early as 830 had computed with marvelous accuracy the obliquity of the ecliptic. Thus their rise was distinguished above all other civilizations by two characteristics; its great rapidity, and its unparalleled brilliance. Learning in Christian Europe toiled painfully through many centuries to reach the goal achieved by the Spanish Moslems in a single century.

The evidence now to be examined accounts very satisfactorily both for the brilliance of Moslem civilization, and for the speed with which its height was attained.

For the chronology of the Moslem advance upon Egypt and through North Africa to the invasion of Spain, I am indebted to Gen. Young's *East and West Through Fifteen*

Centuries. He has visited and describes the region of North Africa; and he sets forth with admirable clearness the dates of the successive events.

A.D. 641	Alexandria and all Egypt taken and permanently occupied. The Moslem capital of Cairo founded.
A.D. 672	Cross the Libyan desert and obtain a permanent foot-hold in the province of North Africa, west of that desert, founding the city of Kairowan.
A.D. 698	Carthage is taken and never thereafter recaptured by the Romans.
A.D. 699–704	Repulsed by the Moors, the Moslems retire to Egypt.
A.D. 704–709	Final invasion of North Africa. In these five years they advance from Carthage to Tingis (now Tangiers), 1000 miles as the crow flies, 1430 miles by the Roman road. From this time North Africa is wholly and permanently lost to the Romans.
A.D. 711–713	Spain is subdued. The Moslem army of 711 was of 20,000 men; reinforced in 712 by 30,000 more.
A.D. 731	Advance into France with an army of not less than 500,000 men.
A.D. 732	Defeated at the Battle of Tours.

67. The swift rise of Moslem civilization followed the return to Spain of the surviving remnant of that vast army which was defeated at Tours. From the foregoing chronology their ancestry will be first deduced; after which their posterity will be considered.

The age of enlistment in the Roman army began at seventeen years.

In the United States during the four years of the Civil

War (1861–1865), 2,159,798 men, twenty-one years of age and under, enlisted in the union army. The number twenty-two years of age and over was 628,516. The number eighteen years and under was 1,151,438. Of these, those sixteen years and under numbered 844,801.[1]

These figures indicate the age of fighting men in Abdul Rahman's army at the Battle of Tours. It is inferable that they were at least as young or younger. In North Africa, men mature and marry early.[2] Those who joined the great Moslem enterprise of invasion, were undoubtedly youths who had not yet established themselves in homes with wives and children.

It may be concluded that most of this force when it left Spain in 731, were about fifteen years of age; that many were younger; and that few, if any, were over eighteen. This would make the age of his warriors at the Battle of Tours in 732, from sixteen to nineteen—which would correspond with the ages of the greatest number of fighting men on the Union side in the American Civil War. These warriors were born therefore between the years 713 and 716 A.D.

At this period, the Moslems had enjoyed the settled and permanent occupation of Alexandria and Egypt, a populous Christian land, for seventy-five years. Between 704 and 709, that is from four to twelve years before Abdul Rahman's soldiers were born, they had possessed and occupied the populous Christian province of North Africa, one thousand miles long by two hundred miles broad, crowded for about four-fifths of its length with numerous strong cities. The Moslems who first left Arabia under the fighting banner of Islam, were an active mounted

[1] From a statement furnished to the press by the United States War Department, August 7th, 1918.

[2] Mohammed's first vizier was Alli, a youth in the fourteenth year of his age. "O prophet, I am the man; whosoever rises against thee I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy vizier over them." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. L.)

fighting force, capable of rapid movement, certainly unencumbered with multitudinous wives and children; they were probably unmarried youths. In Christian Egypt, they settled down, and promptly made wives of the young Christian virgins.

In the course of nature these conquerors of Egypt died. Their sons, of an ancestry one-half Arab, and one-half Christian, but Moslem in religion, grew to fighting age, and carried on the raids against the Christian population in North Africa. They crossed the Libyan desert, and founded the city of Kairowan, thirty-one years after the occupation of Egypt. By these successes more Christian maidens were captured, and more Christian blood was introduced into the Moslem group. In 698, twenty-six years after their first foot-hold in the province of North Africa, fifty-seven years after their permanent settlement in Alexandria, the Moslems took Carthage, a populous city, and next to Alexandria the greatest of Mediterranean sea ports. Again the seizure of Christian maidens added Christian blood to the Arab strain. In 704–709, *i.e.*, from six to eleven years after the capture of Carthage, they swept across the great Christian province of North Africa. From this vast Christian population, additional Christian blood was added. In 711, they entered Spain, and in two years that Christian province was subdued. During this enterprise, the seizure of Christian maidens for Moslem wives added to the strain of their posterity, not only Christian, but white European blood—the Visigothic kingdom of Spain had been established in 419, and the Spanish virgins whom the Moslems took to wife, were descendants of the Visigoths. It is, then, certain that a Moslem youth born between 713 and 716 A.D., had a mother of Christian descent—probably a Spanish mother, descended from the Visigoths, Vandals, or Suevi, who had settled Spain in the fifth century; that he had a grandmother, born in the Christian province of North Africa; and a great grandmother, born in the Christian province of Egypt. In short, he was of seven-eighths

Christian blood and it would be necessary to go back four generations to find for him a feminine ancestor of Arab blood.

68. There is abundant corroborative evidence of this fact:

I. The increasing size of the Moslem army.

II. Ships and wine.

These will be considered in turn:—

I. The increasing size of the Moslem army.

The raiders who first emerged from Arabia under the banner of the Prophet, were comparatively few in number. At the Battle of Kadesia, in 637, which gave the Saracens possession of the Persian capital, Ctesiphon, the Moslem forces are variously stated to have been from 5000 to 60,000 men. Allowing for a tendency toward exaggeration, the smaller number is probably the more nearly correct. The numbers who raided Egypt, in 639 and 640, are not stated; but it may be inferred that they were small, because, with any imaginable fecundity, the number of Arab mothers could not have been sufficient to afford large forces for operations both east and west of Arabia. Moreover, the Egyptian Christians of that period, after two or three centuries of persistent sterilization of their best women, were in no condition to oppose any forces of fighting men whatsoever. A small band of brave men could and probably did, conquer Egypt without difficulty. The numbers of the Moslems, in 670, under Okba are not given; but they are described as a "picked force," which implies that their number was small.

After 670, when the Moslems had been for thirty years settled in Christian Egypt, and a new generation of fighting men had grown up, their numbers considerably increased. In 672, they began the preparation of an armada for a naval expedition against Constantinople, and from 673 to 677 they besieged that city, at the same time carrying on operations west of the Libyan desert. It is inferable that these

Moslems were born in Egypt of Christian descent on their mother's side. The addition of these Christian mothers to the Moslem group, would furnish them with a marked increase in the number of their fighting men, and would account for their undertaking a naval expedition. Moslems of an Arab father and mother would know nothing of the sea. They failed in the siege of Constantinople, and, in 677, their land army was totally defeated, 30,000 of the Moslems being killed.

When their formidable operations next commenced, beginning with the capture of Carthage in 698, their successful sweep across North Africa in 704–709, and the invasion and subjugation of Spain in 711–713, another generation of Moslem fighting men had grown up since the defeats and disasters around Constantinople.[1] It is impossible to suppose that this new generation was furnished by the Arab mothers. It could easily have been born to Egyptian mothers of Christian descent. After all the operations in North Africa, there are said to have been 20,000 Moslems in the forces that entered Spain in 711; and 30,000 more to reinforce them in 712. But the army which advanced from Spain to France twenty years later in 731, numbered 500,000 men. How can such an increase in the Moslem fighting forces be accounted for, except by supposing that they were born of Christian Spanish mothers?

II. Ships and Wine.

To Arabs of pure Arab blood, naval enterprise would be inconceivable. The first Moslems knew nothing of ships or of the sea. Their first maritime undertaking was the naval expedition against Constantinople in 672, thirty-one years after the occupation of Egypt. Twenty-six years later, in 698, another great fleet was prepared for operations against Carthage, and, in 711–712, a third carried their forces from Africa to Spain. The first of these naval operations took place one generation, and the second

[1] "In little more than a single generation all the children of the North of Africa were speaking Arabic." (Draper, *supra*, Chap. XI.)

and third two generations, after the Moslem seizure of the extensive Christian population of Alexandria and Egypt where naval operations and sea-borne commerce had long been carried on. The inference that these Moslems derived their aptitude for naval enterprise from Christian mothers, is irresistible.

A like inference may be drawn from the first Moslem contact with wine. The description of the Saracens of the fourth century, as already quoted from Ammianus Marcellinus, ends with "the majority of them we have seen to be entirely ignorant of the use of corn and wine." It is a universal rule (to which I know of no exception) that a race which has never tasted wine, gets drunk when they first obtain it. Such was the case with the Gauls, a white European people, when they captured Rome 400 B.C. From that time, to the contact of the wine-drinking white races with savage peoples in modern history, there has never been known a race of non-drinking ancestry which has not quickly and easily surrendered to alcoholic temptation. The Moslems were exposed to alcoholic temptation probably when they entered North Africa, and certainly when they entered Spain. In the latter country, they adopted and improved the cultivation of the vine. "They gave to Xeres and Malaga their celebrity for wine"—(Draper, supra). Yet the Moslems did not succumb to drink, easily defeated in a single battle a Christian army two or three times their number, speedily effected the conquest of the entire kingdom of the Visigoths, and, twenty years later, marched unimpaired and with greater forces to seize the Christian lands beyond the Pyrenees. If the Saracens who invaded North Africa and Spain were of pure Arab blood, descended from Arab mothers, and yet withstood alcoholic temptation when first presented to them, they would furnish a new and, indeed, a miraculous precedent in history. If they were, however, as I suppose, only one-eighth Arab, and counted three successive generations of Christian mothers in their immediate ancestors, their temperance would be accounted

for. They were descended chiefly from alcoholized, instead of unalcoholized blood.

69. The evidence of ships and wine is equally inconsistent with the hypothesis that the increased number of Islam's fighting men descended from the non-Christian Moors. As the white inhabitants of western Europe were called indiscriminately "Franks,"[1] so it is probable that the dark-hued inhabitants of Northern Africa were called indiscriminately "Moors," without special reference to race or religion. The word "Moor" in its strictest ethnological significance would designate a people as ignorant of ships and wine as the Arabs. By the hypothesis of a Moorish mother it would be necessary to account for the singular phenomena of men descended on both sides from desert tribes, taking suddenly and successfully to naval enterprise; and of men, whose progenitors had not tasted it, resisting the temptation of over-indulgence in wine. Such difficulties vanish if it is supposed that the invading Moslems immediately married, and begot their children upon, the Christian women of Egypt and North Africa. In the first generation, their descendants were one-half Christian blood; in the second, three-fourths; in the third, seven-eights. So that the soldiers who fought under the banner of Islam against Charles Martel, in 732, were one-eighth Arab, seven-eighths Christian by descent. The surviving remnant of these soldiers returned to Spain; but for forty years longer the Moslems retained their hold upon the province of Narbonne, in France.[2]

[1] A name of some German tribes between the Rhine and the Weser had spread its victorious influence over the greatest part of Gaul, Germany, and Italy, and the common appellation of FRANKS was applied by the Greeks and Arabians to the Christians of the Latin church, the nations of the West, who stretched beyond their knowledge to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. LIII.)

[2] "At that time a very extensive child slave-trade was carried on with the Saracens through the medium of the Jews, ecclesiastics as well as barons selling the children ot their serfs." (Draper, *supra*, Chap. XII.)

As has been said before, it is inferable that both in Spain and France there was a further infusion of Christian blood through taking wives of Christian virgins. These wives, moreover, were of the white races of northern Europe—Franks, Vandals, Suevi, Visigoths. These races were not of the old Christian stock which, in the fourth century, had been impaired by the sterilization of the pious. Their Christianity was of a later date; adverse selection of mothers had run against them for a shorter time; and it was now stopped. The children of such marriages derived from their two nearest genetrices the best Christian blood in Europe. They would be Moslem in religion; Arab in name, language and paternal lineage; one-sixteenth Arab by blood.[1]

70. The rise of the civilization of the Caliphate of Cordova, therefore, which enabled its mathematicians, within a hundred years after the Battle of Tours, to calculate with scientific accuracy the Obliquity of the Ecliptic and the duration of the year (questions which Christendom would hardly consider for another seven centuries) is not really so dizzy in its swiftness and its height as at first would seem. On the contrary, it could be predicted with mathematical certainty. For centuries the Christian Church had preached, and devout Christians had faithfully practiced, the consecration of cold women to a sterile virginity. Wher-

[1] Americans will readily understand what took place if they will suppose that a band of Mexicans raid the populous city of New Orleans, and the lower Mississippi valley; there they marry and form a permanent settlement. In the next generation their sons, born to a Louisiana mother, advance as far as Atlanta, capture and occupy the intervening region, marry Georgian girls, and settle down. The sons born of Georgian mothers advance their conquests to the Potomac, and occupy Washington. Their sons, having a Virginian mother, a Georgian grand-mother, and a Louisianian great grand-mother, raid New York, are beaten, and retire again to the valley of the Potomac. There they settle and marry native Virginian girls. Their descendants, born of two generations of Virginian, a third of Georgian, and a fourth of Louisianian genetrices would be exactly as much "Mexican" as the Spanish Moslems were "Arab."

ever the Moslems conquered, this practice was reversed. Their religion sanctioned, their taste approved, and their passions stimulated the intensive improvement of posterity by impressing these women for maternity. The sterilization of the pious ceased. All those devout and chaste virgins, who would have been instructed, by the Christian Church, to subtract their virtues from posterity, were, by the Moslem victories, given into the hands of men "whose licentious passions were incredible." It was impossible for them to escape maternity, and their enforced fruitfulness quickly changed the region of Moslem rule from a spiritual desert to a garden.

CHAPTER VIII

POLYGAMY

71. Observe the difference in quality of a group of emigrants who leave their native country for a distant land under the following conditions:—

I. Voluntarily facing peril and privation for religious or political freedom.

II. Voluntarily emigrating for economic betterment.

III. Urged and assisted to emigrate by steamship agents who paint in glowing terms the ease and riches of the new land.

Regardless of the numbers of each group, it is evident that Group I would be of a different and of a higher quality than Group III. Thus, the quality of the pilgrims on the *Mayflower* is not of necessity a continuing criterion whereby to judge the quality of all emigrants from Europe to the United States in succeeding generations or centuries.

This is a useful illustration of the differing effects of polygamy on the quality of posterity. Like emigration, polygamy does not necessarily in and of itself establish and maintain a fixed spiritual quality among polygamous peoples. As in all other cases, their quality varies according to the improvement or deterioration of posterity; and posterity improves where maternity is impressed upon cold women, and deteriorates when it is not. The effect of polygamy, therefore, varies according to whether or not it makes cold women fruitful.

When pioneers, exalted by religious fanaticism, enter a new land, the first progenitors are picked men. Usually the men greatly outnumber the women; sometimes, as in

the Moslem invasion of Spain, the invaders are only men; always, if they are warriors, these men are young, lusty, and vigorous. Constant warfare against the invaded people; lack of tranquillity and inherited wealth; the hardship of continuous movement; and, finally, the ceaseless labor involved in building up new homes; all tend to strike from the roll of fathers those who are weak or feeble or old. Polygamy, for such men, is usually reduced to its lowest terms of actual necessity. Stern labor confronts them, and they are little tempted to multiply the voluptuous inmates of their households. Luxury and ostentation come later with inherited wealth. For many of them, not poverty alone, but a scarcity of women must have made monogamy a necessity, notwithstanding even a religious sanction of polygamy. In these conditions warriors and pioneers, even with plural wives, will permit none to escape maternity. At the beginning of polygamy, therefore, cold women are not suffered to extinguish their strain. Maternity is pressed upon all available women to their full bearing capacity. There is evidence of this among the early settlers of Israel in the land of Canaan as well as among the Moslem pioneers of Spain.

The first evidence is given in the Book of Judges, enumerating the sons born to Gideon and his successors.

Judges:—

VIII. 30	—Gideon	70 sons
X. 4	—Jair, a Gileadite	30 sons
XII. 9	—Ibzan of Bethlehem	30 sons
		30 daughters
XII. 14	—Abdon a Pirathonite	40 sons
		30 nephews

In the Moslem conquest of Spain, even larger numbers are mentioned by Draper. He says that there were families of more than one hundred and eighty children. (*Intellectual Development of Europe*, Chap. XI.)

Such families among pioneers mean exceptionally lusty husbands. Their effect is a rapid increase in the numbers of the race, with no deterioration of quality, because, for the time being, polygamy does not permit cold women to extinguish their strain.

As time passes, the effect of polygamy is reversed. Men of the stamp of Gideon or David accumulate property, found families and dynasties, die and leave their name and wealth to their descendants. Presently, it is not the active and vigorous who have plural wives. Polygamy is indulged in by those who inherit wealth and love ostentation. These embrace it for the enjoyment of sensual luxury. Their wives are multiplied to stimulate the senses, to gratify the eye or to please the taste; but each new virgin that enters the seraglio must whet a sexual appetite jaded by her predecessors and dulled by time. In a few generations, offspring do not increase as wives increase. In the reign of Solomon and his successors, large families of children are no longer recorded. It is significant that Gideon is said to have had seventy sons, and "many wives." Solomon had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines; but the number of his children is not stated. So that in the earlier period the chroniclers found it worth while to enumerate children and not wives; in the later wives and not children.

The change affects the quality, as well as the quantity, of posterity. The enfeebled master of a seraglio, supported by inherited wealth, is more likely to beget children upon those inmates who beguile, than upon those who repel him. In such a household, the cold women will escape maternity altogether. As it was with the Jews in Palestine, so eventually it was with the Moslems in Spain. Polygamy gave to cold women a means of escaping repugnant coverture. The Moslem husband found it easy to replace a cold wife with an ardent one; so that after the age of pioneering was passed, Moslem civilization began to decline. Plural marriage, which had first increased the quantity of posterity, soon began to debase its quality.

72. Abundant evidence may be found of this change. An excellent description of the polygamous household of an oriental potentate, whose titles, dominions, power, and wealth are inherited, is given by Marco Polo on his visit to the court of Kublai.

"He has four wives of the first rank, who are esteemed legitimate, and the eldest born son of any one of these succeeds to the empire, upon the decease of the grand khan. They bear equally the title of empress, and have their separate courts. None of them have fewer than three hundred young female attendants of great beauty, together with a multitude of youths as pages, and other eunuchs, as well as ladies of the bed-chamber; so that the number of persons belonging to each of their respective courts amounts to ten thousand. When his majesty is desirous of the company of one of his empresses, he either sends for her, or goes himself to her palace. Besides these, he has many concubines provided for his use, from a province of Tartary named Ungut, having a city of the same name, the inhabitants of which are distinguished for beauty of features and fairness of complexion. Thither the grand khan sends his officers every second year, or oftener, as it may happen to be his pleasure, who collect for him, to the number of four or five hundred, or more, of the handsomest of the young women, according to the estimation of beauty communicated to them in their instructions. The mode of their appreciation is as follows. Upon the arrival of these commissioners, they give orders for assembling all the young women of the province, and appoint qualified persons to examine them, who, upon careful inspection of each of them separately, that is to say of the hair, the countenance, the eyebrows, the mouth, the lips, and other features, as well as the symmetry with each other, estimate their value at sixteen, seventeen, eighteen or twenty, or more carats, according to the greater or less degree of beauty. The number required by the grand khan, at the rates, perhaps, of twenty or twenty-one carats, to which their commission was limited, is then selected from the rest, and they are conveyed to his court. Upon their arrival in his presence, he causes a new examination to be made by a different set of inspectors and from amongst them a further selection takes place when thirty or forty are retained for his own chamber at a higher valuation.

These, in the first instance, are committed separately to the care of the wives of certain of the nobles, whose duty it is to observe them attentively during the course of the night, in order to ascertain that they have not any concealed imperfections, that they sleep tranquilly, do not snore, have sweet breath, and are free from unpleasant scent in any part of the body. Having undergone this rigorous scrutiny, they are divided into parties of five, one of which parties attends during three days and three nights, in his majesty's interior apartment, where they are to perform every service that is required of them, and he does with them as he likes. When this term is completed, they are relieved by another party, and in this manner successively, until the whole number have taken their turn; when the first five recommence their attendance. But whilst the one party officiates in the inner chamber, another is stationed in the outer apartment adjoining; in order that if his majesty should have occasion for anything, such as drink or victuals, the former may signify his commands to the latter by whom the article required is immediately procured; and thus the duty of waiting upon his majesty's person is exclusively performed by these young females." (*Travels of Marco Polo*, Chap. IV, Bk. II.)

This description of the harem of Kublai, including most of its details, may probably be accepted as a fair description of the harems of other oriental potentates. The government of the harem must have been always much the same; and however the number of inmates may have varied, they must have been always sufficiently numerous, so that the effect of harem life in the selection of mothers could not have varied much, and must have been always bad. Most Christians have read the biblical account of Solomon's harem with its thousand inmates. The harem of Abd-er-Rahman III, at Cordova, in the tenth century, is thus described:

"The number of male servants in the palace has been estimated at thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty, to whom the daily allowance of flesh meat, exclusive of fowls and fish, was thirteen thousand pounds; and the number of

women of various kinds and classes, comprising the harem of the Khalif, or waiting upon them, is said to have amounted to six thousand three hundred and fourteen. The Slav pages and eunuchs were three thousand three hundred and fifty, to whom thirteen thousand pounds of flesh meat were distributed daily, some receiving ten pounds each, and some less, according to their rank and station, exclusive of fowls, partridges, and birds of other sorts, game and fish. The daily allowance of bread for the fish in the pond of Ez-Zahra was twelve thousand loaves, besides six measures of black pulse which were every day macerated in the waters. These and other particulars may be found at full length in the histories of the times, and recorded by orators and poets who have exhausted the mines of eloquence in their description." (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Moors in Spain*, Chap. VIII.)

Akbar's *zanana* in the seventeenth century, "contained more than 5000 ladies, each of whom had separate apartments; they were attended by an adequate staff of servants, and watched in successive circles by female guards, eunuchs, Rajputs, and the porters at the gates, apart from the troops stationed on all four sides of the buildings." (Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, Chap. III.) It is evident that in harems such as these cold women would escape maternity as easily as in a convent. Had the thousand inmates of Solomon's harem been given each to one husband in indissoluble monogamous marriage, virile pressure upon them would have been multiplied a thousand times. Under this pressure, many of the colder ones must have become fruitful.

And while seraglios as large as these were maintained only by sovereigns, their wealthier subjects undoubtedly entertained the same ideals, and, to the extent of their means, faithfully copied their sovereign's example. Tranquil prosperity and inherited wealth, quite changed the effect of polygamy upon posterity. From an institution which multiplied cold women, it changed to an institution which extinguished them. Evidence of this change may be found in their posterity. The immediate successors of

the Moslem pioneers show clearly the introduction of a strain of sexual coldness. "Their religious sentiment and sedate character caused them to abominate the lewdness of our classical mythology, and to denounce indignantly any connexion between the licentious, impure Olympian Jove and the Most High God as an insufferable and unpardonable blasphemy." (Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, Vol. II, Chap. II.) They held in contempt "the woman-worshippers and polytheistic savages beyond the Pyrenees." (*Ibid.*)

73. The rise of Moslem civilization, therefore, is accounted for by the following evidence:

I. The first Moslems to leave Arabia were men of exceptional lust and vigor. In one hundred years, they had swept from India to the Atlantic Ocean, covering Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain.[1]

II. So rapid a sweep in so short a time, meant that the males of each succeeding generation obtained their wives from a new population. The only Arabs with Arab mothers were those who first left Arabia. All their successors were descended from mothers of the conquered lands.

III. In Persia, alone, these mothers were drawn from a polygamous population. In Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, they were drawn from a monogamous Christian population; in Syria, Egypt and Africa, from a population which from the fourth century had been subjected to the debasing effect of the perennial sterilization of cold women. In Spain, alone, mothers were obtained from a Christian monogamous people of the white races of Northern Europe where the Christian sterilization of cold women had begun a century or two centuries later than in Syria, Egypt, and Africa.

[1] "One hundred years after his flight from Mecca the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over the various and distant provinces which may be comprised under the names of I. Persia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and V. Spain." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. LI.)

IV. In all these lands, the Moslem inundation at first reversed the Christian sterilization of the pious; and stopped the adverse selection of ardent women for maternity, and cold ones for sterility. The victorious Moslems impressed maternity upon all women alike.

V. This effect was immediate and short lived. For a century, each generation of Moslems received an infusion of new blood from mothers of the newly conquered peoples. After the first century of Moslem conquest, there was no considerable addition of new blood. The Moslems inter-bred.

VI. The Moslem intellect reached its zenith in Spain, where Moslems descended from a Christian monogamous population of the white races of Europe; rose to a lesser height in Persia, and India, where their mothers were selected from a non-Christian polygamous Asiatic people; and did not rise at all in Arabia where they continued to descend from Arab mothers.

VII. Moslem civilization maintained itself in Spain about 700 years; in Persia only 300 years; in India and Syria it was over-whelmed by the advance of the Mongols in 500 years.

VIII. The Moslem rise corresponded in time to the first century of conquest, when it was receiving continuous infusions of new blood through conquered mothers. It lasted two or three generations thereafter, until this blood had spent itself and cold women were again sterilized through polygamy. From that time, a decline set in which has continued ever since.

IX. In the pioneer century of Moslem conquests, the practice of polygamy enforced the maternity of cold women and multiplied their posterity. After the first century, this effect was reversed. Moslem power and intellect rose and fell accordingly.

X. So that, in Moslem civilization, the evidence accords exactly with the mathematical expectation. Wherever maternity was effectually impressed upon the best selection

of mothers (as in the first century of the Moslem conquest of Spain) posterity shows the greatest improvement, and civilization its greatest height. Where there was no improved selection of mothers (as in Arabia) there was no improvement of posterity, and no augmentation of intellect. And where the selection of mothers was not so good as in Spain, but better than in Arabia, the augmentation of the Moslem intellect was less than in Spain, and greater than in Arabia.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE FROM THE FIFTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY

74. A survey of Europe during five centuries from the barbarian inundation of the Western Empire of Rome in the fifth century, to the tenth century, shows three large groups.

I. The Eastern Empire: Constantinople and those of its dominions which had not fallen before the barbarians.

This group was orthodox Christian; descended directly and uninterruptedly from the ancient Roman civilization; called themselves at first "Romans," and later (when the Greek language became universal) "Romaoi." They provided most of the urban population with work and rations; chained the agricultural population to the soil; pursued without interruption the sterilization of pious and cold women; became addicted to idolatry; exhibited bitter and unbroken religious intolerance; inherited, preserved, and continued an oriental government, taxation, and criminal procedure; displayed to perfection the oriental conception of the relations of monarch and subjects, and characteristic oriental vices of long inherited slavery, including gelded slaves; and passed the whole five centuries (and five succeeding centuries) without a spark of spiritual exaltation to illuminate the darkness descending upon them. Though on European soil, they were completely and perfectly oriental.

II. The second group consisted of the Spanish inhabitants of the Caliphate of Cordova. These were Moslem in religion; of nearly pure Christian descent; worshipped an invisible God; banned idols; exhibited more religious toler-

ance than any other Europeans of the age; obeyed in principle a theocratic government, but in practice a despotism modified by the precepts of the Koran which ruler and subjects were alike bound to obey; enjoyed a moderate taxation and greater stability of private property than anywhere else in Europe at that time; they had a large population of freemen; like the Eastern Empire, inherited slavery, including gelded slaves; displayed an augmentation of the human intellect till then unexampled; and added to art, to science, and to learning, so much, that modern civilization owes to them a great debt. To Constantinople it owes nothing.

In a comparison of the realms ruled respectively from Constantinople and Cordova, I do not mention differences of education, for each had educational institutions conducted by their respective churches. I do not mention differences in their marriage institutions, for divorce, concubinage and monasticism in Constantinople equally with inherited polygamy in Cordova, were perfectly adapted to the sterilization of cold women. Both these groups, accordingly, declined, the one from twilight, the other from high-noon, to darkness.

From this period the histories of the Byzantine and Moslem empires run parallel. Allowing for some oscillations, the boundaries of both empires continuously contracted as their civilizations continuously declined. Both empires persisted for many centuries, but were finally overthrown by savage incursions; the empire of Constantinople by the non-Christian Turks, the empire of the Caliphs by the non-Moslem Mongols. Lands that were once fruitful and populous, became, under each religion a desert waste. But both Christian and Moslem religions have survived.

III. The remainder of Europe constituted the third group. These were formed of the successive barbarian invaders of the former Roman provinces; and of the barbarian savages of northern Europe beyond the Roman

frontier. This group was divisible into many smaller ones. But like causes operated upon these smaller groups, and had like effects. Their histories diverge from the histories of Constantinople and Cordova, but run parallel to each other. All of them shared in common the submergence of the dark ages, and the final emergence into the light of modern civilization. It is interesting to observe, first, with what accuracy the history of these several groups follows mathematical expectation for upward of 500 years.

75. If the fall of Roman civilization after the Christianization of the Roman Empire was due to the Christian doctrine, then universal, of the sterilization of pious and cold women; and if this continued to be the Christian precept and practice for five centuries longer; then its effect upon the barbarian invaders, as they became Christian, would be the same as upon the Romans. There is evidence that Christian precept and practice did so continue. Smith and Cheatham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* enumerates 1481 celibate religious houses founded in Christendom from the fourth to the ninth century inclusive. Omitting those of Constantinople, Asia, Africa, and some few others whose location is doubtful, the numbers of these in the principal countries of Western Europe may be given with approximate accuracy as follows:

Italy

Fourth Century	.....	5
Fifth "	.....	12
Sixth "	.....	16
Seventh "	.....	12
Eighth "	.....	62
Ninth "	.....	6

France (including Belgium)

Fourth Century	.....	4
Fifth "	.....	7
Sixth "	.....	76

France (including Belgium)—*Continued*

Seventh Century	91
Eighth "	40
Ninth "	26

Spain (including Portugal)

Sixth Century	6
Seventh "	2
Eighth "	5

Ireland

Fourth Century	2
Fifth "	59
Sixth "	80
Seventh "	83
Eighth "	20
Ninth "	5

England

Fourth Century	1
Fifth "	3
Sixth "	6
Seventh "	60
Eighth "	25
Ninth "	2

Scotland

Sixth Century	2
Seventh "	4

Germany

Fifth Century	2
Sixth "	2
Seventh "	7
Eighth "	50
Ninth "	4

From the foregoing tables, it is plain that, after the barbarian invasion of Italy and France, the sterilization of the pious continued and increased up to the ninth century. In Spain, the early Christian records were probably obliterated by the Moslem invasion; and it was not until after the Christian reconquest that religious houses were again founded there. In Ireland, during the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, the new foundations of monastic institutions numbered 242. In England, following the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, there were 85 new foundations in two centuries. In Germany, there were 50 in the eighth century alone. In Western Christendom as a whole, during the seventh and eighth centuries, the religious sterilization of the pious and chaste was continued uninterruptedly on an extensive scale after the conversion of the barbarian invaders.

76. It would be expected, then, that the debasement of posterity by the Christian precept and practice of that age, would be first noticed in the barbarians who were first converted; would be most noticeable in those who were most orthodox and most devout; that the national strength of these people after their conversion to Christianity would soon be sapped; that the barbarian races which were not yet Christianized would preserve their national vigor; and that consequently a tide of conquest would flow uninterruptedly for many centuries against the Christian world; so that the barbarians first converted to Christianity would rapidly succumb and give way to new invasions by new barbarians, whose conversion was of a later date.

Such being the expectation of mathematical law, observe the historical evidence as to these successive groups and see the expectation fulfilled.

77. In *Africa*, the ancient Christian civilization was completely conquered, and the province occupied by the Vandals, who had marched from northern Europe to the Straits of Gibraltar, and crossed thence into Africa. They entered, in A.D. 429, and established the Vandal empire:

were converted to Christianity; became bigoted religious persecutors; and were extinguished upon the reconquest of the province by Belisarius in 534. The Christian Vandals, therefore, lasted about one hundred years. The province of North Africa received a further infusion of European Christian blood by the emigration from Italy in 568; and in 705–709 the African Christians were again overrun, and for the last time, by Moslems. From the Christian reconquest of the province in 534 to the Moslem conquest, is about 170 years.

78. In *Greece*, the original Christian population, descended from those Christians who had received the epistles of the apostle Paul, and who had suffered the adverse selective influence of the sterilization of the pious in the fourth and fifth centuries, was invaded, conquered, and finally displaced by the Avars and other Slavonian tribes.[1] These incursions took place in the years 588 and 589 and thereafter. The invaders possessed a great part of the country from the frontiers of Macedonia to the south of the Peloponnesus and "had so completely separated their conquests from the Roman empire that no Roman (that is to say Greek connected with the imperial administration) dared to enter the country." (Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans*, Chap. IV, Sect. VI.)

"In the Island of Sicily and in the south of Italy, the great bulk of the population was Greek both in language and

[1] The question of the Slavs in Greece is a very obscure one, and has engaged the attention of many of our best scholars. Prof. Fallmerayer, for instance, maintains that the Hellenic race in Europe was exterminated by the Slavonians, and that the present inhabitants of Greece are Byzantinized Slavonians. There can be no doubt that the Slavonians formed the bulk of the population of Greece for several centuries. This is expressly stated by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who refers the completion of the Slavonic colonization of Greece to the time of the great pestilence, which depopulated the East in A.D. 746. In the same century the European navigators spoke of the Peloponnesus as "Slavonian land." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. LIII.)

manners and few portions of the Greek race had succeeded so well in preserving their wealth and property uninjured." (Finlay, *supra*, Chap. V, Sect. VII.)

Both Greece and Sicily, Mediterranean countries, were exposed to the attacks of the Moslems. The newly Christianized Slavonian inhabitants of Greece never came under Moslem rule. In Sicily, the old Christian population, debased by many centuries of the sterilization of its cold women, was conquered first by the Saracens, who were never Christian, and next by the Normans who were not Christian till the end of the tenth century. The Saracens began their conquest in A.D. 827; took Syracuse in 878; and all Sicily in 965. For 263 years some part or all of the island was under Moslem rule; and, by Sicilian Christians, this rule was never overthrown. The Normans, however, pagans until the tenth century, began their Sicilian conquests in 1060, and completed them in 1090. From the Moslem conquest to the nineteenth century, the ancient Christian population of Sicily was handed on from one foreign ruler to another, and never had the strength to rule itself. Its highest civilization after the fourth century was attained under the rule of the non-Christian Moslems and the newly Christianized Normans.

79. *Venice* was founded by Christians from the mainland, in the fifth or sixth century A.D. Historians differ as to whether its first settlers fled from the invasion of Attila, in the fifth century, or that of the Lombards in the sixth. In either case, it is certain that they were already Christians, probably orthodox; and that Venice, without pagan invasion or conquest, attained a high degree of civilization and power. For a thousand years history presents the interesting spectacle of two commercial cities, seaports, both Christian—Venice and Constantinople; in the one, civilization during this period continuously rose—in the other, it declined. Venice appears to have suspended for ten centuries the operation of those laws which carried all other

Christian communities down. The exception is only apparent.

For the first Venetians the sterilization of cold women was impossible. They had no lands wherewith to endow religious houses; no agriculture, no serfs, no fields. Their settlement was made on islands in a lagoon, and, until commerce brought them wealth, they subsisted by their fisheries. Meanwhile, they were separated from the Church hierarchy by the disorders of the times. For five centuries, Venice had but little connection with Rome. Constantinople, nominally her suzerain, was a rival in trade; and the interests of Venice, during this period, were bound up more in her trade with non-Christians than in her intercourse with Christians. Pagan blood, instead of being introduced *en bloc* by conquest, was continuously infused by commerce. The Venetians were never devout. They traded with the Moslems, and they took usury, when both were forbidden by the Church.[1]

[1] In 1589 Vilagut a Benedictine published in Venice a great work on usury, which he defines as the taking of anything beyond the original loan; and declares it mortal sin. In the middle of the seventeenth century Onorato Leotardi published another folio on the same subject, but even more extreme, calling money-lenders not only robbers but murderers.

In either century no opposition was made to this theory as a *theory;* as to *practice*, Italian traders did not answer theological argument—but simply over-rode it. In spite of theology, great banks were established, and especially that of Venice at the end of the twelfth century, and those of Barcelona and Genoa at the beginning of the fifteenth. Nowhere was commerce carried on in more complete defiance of this and other theological theories hampering trade, than in the very city where these great treatises were published. The sin of usury, like the sin of commerce with the Mohammedans, seems to have been settled for by the Venetian merchants on their deathbeds; and greatly to the advantage of the magnificent churches and ecclesiastical adornments of the city. (White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, Vol. II.)

"The carrying-trade with the East was at first in the hands of the Greeks, but after the triumph of the crescent, it gradually fell to the Italians, who unlike the members of the Eastern Church, had no con-

Like all commercial cities Venice had, at this time, a continuously revolving population. Wealth was not held in land or territorial revenues, but was gained by trade. Success in trade was open to all. This created a wealthy class continuously recruited from below,[1] and from outside; in a later age, when conventual retreats were the prerogative of aristocracy and wealth, the revolving character of Venetian society brought new families to the fore—families who had never practiced the sterilization of pious women.

In the rise of Venice, therefore, these things are noticeable: The successful merchants were not religious. There were no landed estates or territorial aristocracy wherewith to endow religious houses. There were in fact, up to the end of the ninth century, no religious houses.[2] There was a continuous infusion of new and pagan males. It is probable that during this period there was a continuous numerical superiority of men over women in Venice, and that neither the religious nor social sterilization of cold women could or did take place.

---

scientious scruples against trading with the Moslem. Of this most lucrative trade Venice obtained her full share, and even derived considerable revenue from selling Christian European slaves to the Infidel."

"In her economy, a ducat gained was always a ducat, whether it was stamped with the symbol of the star and crescent, or with the effigy of the Pope, whether it was earned by selling holy relics to her neighbors or Christian slaves to the Turk." (McClellan, *The Oligarchy of Venice*, Chap. II and Chap. IV.)

[1] "Many of the middle class, and even some plebeians, had acquired large fortunes through the same commercial channels that had enriched the patricians. The members of this new aristocracy of wealth were in much the same position as the London city families before the first reform bill. Their wealth was as great as that of the ruling class, they possessed as much or as little education as their betters and man for man they were undoubtedly as able to govern the country effectively. Yet because they lacked the tradition, through which the aristocracy by a polite fiction was descended from that of Rome, they were of as little moment as the very beggars in the streets." (*Ibid.*, Chap. III.)

[2] In Smith and Cheatham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* there are enumerated 1481 religious houses founded between the fourth and the ninth centuries inclusive. The list does not show a single convent or monastery at Venice.

After the accumulation of wealth, convents were undoubtedly established, and some daughters of the aristocracy took the veil; but this condition did not arise until the tenth century; it impaired only the families of wealth; and as their possessions were commercial and not territorial, they were easily and continuously replaced by the rise of new commercial magnates from the class below.[1]

It is evident that, in all respects, these conditions differed from those of Constantinople. In the latter city, there were ancient and richly endowed religious houses; the inhabitants were fanatical Christians; the sterilization of pious women had been long established, and continued without interruption; there was an aristocracy of territorial possessions, and social caste was fixed. It is certain that these differences between the two cities satisfactorily account for the synchronous rise of Venice, and decline of Constantinople, although both alike professed the Christian religion.

80. In *Italy*, the ancient Christian population was conquered first by the Visigoths under Alaric, who sacked Rome in 410; and conquered again by the Gothic tribes, who created Odoacer "king of Italy" (a new title) in 476. In 493, Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, having conquered Italy, murdered Odoacer and set up the Ostrogothic Empire. Both Visigoths and Ostrogoths embraced Christianty. Alaric "gave strict orders that the churches should be left uninjured, and that the right of asylum in them be respected. And these orders were obeyed." The empire of Theodoric was Christian. It included: (*a*) former Roman Christians; (*b*) the Visigoths and other Gothic intruders since 410; (*c*) the Ostrogoths brought by Theodoric. He

[1] This process continued until the fourteenth century. By a series of laws from 1299 to 1316, there was accomplished what was known as "Serrata del Gran Consiglio" or the closing of the Great Council. Thus was created the class of "Pauper Nobles" who governed Venice. The infusion of new blood was stopped. "The history of Venice, until the beginning of the fourteenth century, is that of her growth; from then until the end of the eighteenth it is that of her decline." (McClellan, *supra*, Chap. VII.)

was an Arian in religion, but "he ruled with even-handed justice, protecting the Roman population from destruction, endeavoring to treat Goths and Romans alike, so far as the circumstances permitted, and doing the same in matters of religion as regards Arians and Catholics." (Gen. Young, supra Chap. XX, p. 165.)

This Christian kingdom of mixed Roman and Gothic population fell in 568, when Italy was invaded by the Lombards. Again, Pagan conquers Christian; and the new Pagans were the first to give a permanent name (Lombardy) to an Italian province.

"The Lombards when they furnished a contingent to accompany Narses into Italy in 551 had been Pagans; but apparently between the years 551–568 they had been partially converted to Arian Christianity, Alboin himself at all events being nominally an Arian Christian. The majority of the Lombards, however, appear to have been still Pagans when they arrived in Italy, being in the habit of sacrificing, sometimes a she-goat, and sometimes a captive, to their ancient gods. In any case such Christianity as they may have imbibed made little or no difference in their general character, which is described as 'fiercer than even the ordinary fierceness of barbarians.'" (Gen. Young, *East and West Through Fifteen Centuries*, Chap. XXIII, p. 327.)

One hundred and fifty-eight years had passed since the first Goths took Rome under Alaric; and seventy-five years since the establishment of the Ostrogothic kingdom under Theodoric the Great. In from two to five generations, the fighting men disappeared from the Christianized Goths.[1]

[1] "Then occurred a singular phenomenon—the annihilation and disappearance of a great and powerful people from the world's history. We wonder how the Etrurian name and nation were absorbed in Rome. A few sepulchral monuments, a few vases in museums, a few inscriptions which perplex the scholar, here and there a custom or tradition which survives in the story of an alien race,—this is all that remains of a people once the most polished, and, perhaps, at the era of its greatness, the most powerful in the ancient world. The same phenomenon is repeated at the fall of the great Semitic rival of Rome. The iron hand of the republic shattered a whole civilization, as a mirror is shattered by a warrior's

The advance of Alboin, at the head of the Lombards met with no greater opposition than the advance of Alaric at the head of the Goths, one hundred and sixty years earlier. The Christians submitted to the new Pagan host. The character of the population changed. About two centuries had passed since the Italian Christians had been converted to the doctrine and practice of a sterile virginity. In that time, Italy had been three times overrun. Now, the old Christian population had wholly and finally disappeared. "At this time," says Machiavelli, "not only were the names of provinces changed, but also of lakes, rivers, seas, and men; for France, Spain, and Italy are full of fresh names wholly different from the ancient."

At the period of their Italian conquest the Christianization of the Lombards had just begun. Thereafter they became a Christian people; and accordingly about 200 years later they were unable to withstand the Frank. In 774, Charlemagne defeated and destroyed the Lombard kingdom. For the fourth time in four centuries, and each time on Italian soil, a great Christian nation was invaded and overrun. And the process did not stop even then. For many centuries, Italy, Christian since the fourth century, continued to be invaded by nations which were Christianized long afterward. In Roman times, when maternity was impressed upon her cold women, the tide of conquest flowed from Italy northward, across the Alps, the Danube and the Rhine. When Christians reversed the selection of mothers, they reversed the tide of conquest. What her encircling seas can tell of Britain, her northern mountains can tell of Italy.

---

glove of steel. The language, the polity, the commercial empire of Carthage, have left scarce 'a wreck behind.' 'The periplus of Hanno, a few medals, a score of verses in Plautus, and there is all that remains of the Carthaginian world.' And now once again we witness the same strange catastrophe; the more startling, because more nearly connected with existing politics and modern times. A great people, which had organized an enlightened government, and sent 200,000 fighting men into the field of battle, is annihilated and forgotten." (Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, p. 307, Lecture VI).

The changing course of victorious armies records infallibly the changing selection of Italian mothers.

81. For about three centuries, their Christianization appeared to have no ill effects upon the *Franks*. Clovis, who conquered all of Gaul but Burgundy, and founded the modern kingdom of "France," was baptized, together with 3000 of his knights, in the Rheims Cathedral, on Christmas Day, 496. From that time to the present day, there has never been a pagan conquest of France. But again the exception is only apparent. For three centuries, Christianity sat very lightly upon the Franks. They were not devout; they were disobedient; they refused to keep Lent; they were not monogamous.

"Clovis was not the man to brook the serious interference of any authority with his own. He was willing to become a Christian and a churchman, but upon condition of being master of the Church—in somewhat the same way as he was master of his people and kingdom. He assumed, therefore, at once the right of nomination to the vacant sees—how far upon the grounds of Byzantine precedent it is impossible to say,—and his successors maintained it. The Church recalcitrated, but the yoke was not to be shaken off. The Merovingians insisted upon the right, and exercised it as they chose,—sometimes in favour of the most disreputable priest or most unsuitable layman." (Sheppard, *The Fall of Rome*, Lecture XIII).

From Clovis, in the sixth century, to Charles Martel, in the eighth century, the Church did not rule the Franks, the Franks, in their domain, ruled the Church. Pepin of Heristal "according to the custom of the age, had married a second wife during the life-time of his first"; and from this plural union sprang Charles Martel, the saviour of Christian Europe from the Moslems. He not only ruled but plundered the Church. Michelet supposes him to have been a pagan. It is certain that the Church itself condemned him to hell; the truth of which could be affirmed by the smell of fire when his tomb was opened. (Gibbon, supra, Chap. LII.)

"The Franks did not, like their Burgundian and Visigoth neighbors, throw themselves into the form of social organization which they found in the lands they conquered, nor adopt civil, military, and ecclesiastical institutions, in which they, and the people of the country, might equally, or nearly equally participate. Like the Heracleids and other conquering races, they remained an army of occupation with imperial functions, among a subject population. But for a long time they did not assume the sacerdotal office. The religious element of the national authority they abandoned with contempt, perhaps with superstitious reverence, to the more instructed class from whom they had derived their religion itself. While the Arian clergy of the Gothic and Burgundian nations were probably Goths and Burgundians, the Frankish clergy were never Franks, except when the tonsure was inflicted as a safeguard or a punishment upon some rival prince or rebellious warrior. It is plain that this circumstance must have exercised a very notable influence upon the relations of the Church with the monarchy and people in Merovingian times,—and facts, otherwise most difficult of explanation, abundantly confirm the 'a priori' conclusion." (Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, Lecture VIII.)

When Charles Martel, at the Battle of Tours in 732, defended Christian Europe against the invasion of the Moslems, it is plain that the Franks who fought under him were not descendants of a race which for two centuries had been sapped by the continuous sterilization of its cold women. They were Christian in name; but they were warriors by choice; and they left the doctrine and practice of Christianity to the conquered inhabitants of Gaul.

By Charlemagne, the relations between the Franks and the Church were reversed. He exalted the Church; and the Frankish devotion to the Church dates from his reign.

"The objection which has been most frequently and most vehemently urged against the policy and actions of Charlemagne, is the undue elevation to which he has been supposed to have exalted the Church." (Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, Lecture IX.)

"The arrogant pretensions asserted by the clergy after the death of Charlemagne, may, in some measure, be attributed

to the exalted functions performed by them during his life, and the despotism of the bishops in the temporal affairs of the empire has not unreasonably been traced to the share in the civil administration which he encouraged them to claim, and permitted them to exercise." (*Ibid.*)

Thus, the evidence as to the Franks is that for three centuries they kept themselves apart from the spiritual dictation of the Church; during the period from Clovis to Charlemagne, piety did not sterilize any of the Franks, for none of them were pious; and during this period they continuously increased in martial power. In the last of the three centuries, under Charles Martel, they defeated the Moslem host at the Battle of Tours, and, under Charlemagne, they destroyed the Lombard kingdom, and extended the Frankish dominions in Europe to an extent as great as that formerly ruled by Rome. The contrast which they exhibit to those other barbarian races which devoutly espoused the Christian religion and practice of the age, is very marked; no less marked, however, than the change in the Franks themselves after they became religious. From the reign of Charlemagne, the Franks steadily declined. In a little more than a century, they were unable to beat off the invading Normans (pagans), who besieged Paris, and seized and occupied a fair province, still called Normandy. From Clovis to the Norman invasion France's history runs true to mathematical law.

82. In the island of *Britain*, the lethal effect of Christian devotion during the period of the sterilization of the pious is shown by several successive groups.

When the Roman legions were withdrawn, A.D. 411, the province of Britain was populous, wealthy, civilized, highly cultivated and Christian. It was promptly overrun by the savage and pagan Picts from the north. Notwithstanding their advantages of walls, fortifications, and roads, this numerous Christian population were quite unable to defend the province against the Pictish raids. "The Picts drive us

into the ocean, and the ocean drives us back upon the Picts," complained the venerable Bede. In their extremity, it is supposed that they invited the invasion of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, pagans from the main-land. It is certain that this invasion occurred, and that, in the period from the middle of the fifth century, to the middle of the sixth, these pagans overran, conquered, and occupied the whole domain of Roman Britain. Seven new kingdoms were set up by the pagan invaders; and the dates of the Christian conversion of the Saxon heptarchy are given by General Young as follows:

A.D.	597	Kent
"	631	East Anglia
"	634	Wessex
"	635	Northumbria
"	653	East Saxons
"	677	Mercia
"	681	South Saxons

The extinction of the Roman Christian was complete, and the Roman province of Britain gained a new name, *Angleterre* or England. General Young fixes Sept. 24, 673, as the birthday of the Church of England.[1] Within a century, the newly converted English had become zealous Christians.

"But the most prominent feature at this time is the zeal developed by the recently constituted Church of England in endeavoring to convert various Continental races who were still Pagans. England, which had itself been converted to Christianity less than eighty years, now sent forth mission-

[1] PETER'S PENCE

"And in the same yer (1365) hit was ordeyned that seynt Petris pens, fro that tyme forth shold not be payd, the whiche Kyng Iva, sumtyme King of Englond, of the cuntre of West-Saxons, that bygan to regne in the yer of our Lord DCLXXIX, ferst graunted to Rome, for the scole of Englong ther to be continued." (G. G. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain*, Section IV—4.)

The Brut Early English Text Society, 1908 p. 316

ary after missionary from the training colleges which had been established at Lindisfarne, Glastonbury, and Jarrow to give their lives in brave attempts to convert the most savage and barbarous races of Germany. From Northumbria in 695 went Willibrod, who for forty years laboured to convert the savage Frisians, and at length was killed by them. Two priests, both named Ewald, about the same time attempted a similar task in Saxony, and were torn limb from limb at Cologne, and their bodies thrown into the Rhine. From Wessex in 716 went Winfrith, who received from Pope Gregory II the name of Boniface, and is often called 'the Apostle of Germany.'" (Gen. Young, *East and West Through Fifteen Centuries*, Chap. XXVI.)

"A constant succession of royal devotees began, kings and queens resigning their rank to enter monasteries and convents often founded by themselves, or to make pilgrimages to shrines such as Glastonbury, or to the tombs of specially revered martyrs or saints, or even to walk barefooted on pilgrimages to Rome, as the place where so many renowned martyrs had suffered, and there establishing hospitals for the reception of wornout travellers from England, or schools for the education of English children. This kind of action was not of course confined to England at this period; but it certainly appears to have been much more largely followed in that country than elsewhere. The kingdoms of Northumbria, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, Wessex, and Kent each contributed examples of kings who thus resigned their crowns to enter monasteries, similar action being taken by many queens and noble ladies who entered convents, often becoming rulers of convents which they had built and endowed. Among these kings Coinred, king of Mercia, Ceadwalla, king of Wessex (Ina's predecessor), and Offa, prince of the East Saxons, all made pilgrimages to Rome." (*Ibid.*)

Piety and zeal were promptly followed by the usual result. In the ninth century, the Christian Saxons were invaded by the pagan Danes, who, by A.D. 878, had overrun, conquered, and settled Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia. More than a century of warfare followed, during which the pious Saxons never completely defeated the Danes; and in 1013 all England was conquered, and ruled by Cnut, a Danish king. Meanwhile the Danes had been converted.

'The church had been the centre of national resistance to the Dane, but Cnut sought above all its friendship. He paid homage to the cause for which Ælfheah had died, by his translation of the Archbishop's body to Canterbury. He atoned for his father's ravages by costly gifts to the religious houses. He protected English pilgrims against the robber-lords of the Alps, and English bishops against the exactions of the Papacy. His love for the monks broke out in the song which he composed as he listened to their chaunt at Ely: 'Merrily sung the monks of Ely when Cnut the King rowed by' across the vast fen-waters that surrounded their abbey. 'Row, boatmen, near the land, and hear we these monks sing.'

"Cnut's letter from Rome to his English subjects marks the grandeur of his character, and the noble conception he had formed of kingship. 'I have vowed to God to lead a right life in all things,' wrote the King, 'to rule justly and piously my realms and subjects, and to administer just judgment to all. If heretofore I have done ought beyond what was just, through headiness or negligence of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly.'" (Green, *History of the English People*, Chap. II, Sect. 1.)

Saxons and Danes were ruled alike, and piety sapped the strength of both. The last of the English kings before the defeat of Harold was Edward "the Confessor," 1042–1066. This king's piety is sufficiently indicated in his name; the nation's piety in his popularity.

In 1066, history repeated itself again when, for the third time, Christian England surrendered to invaders of a pagan stock. The Normans were Christianized even later than the Danish invaders of England.

"William Longsword, the son of Rolf, though wavering towards France and Christianity, remained Pagan and Dane in heart; he called in a Danish colony to occupy his conquest of the Cotentin, the peninsula which runs out from St. Michael's Mount to the cliffs of Cherbourg, and reared his boy among the Northmen of Bayeux where the Danish tongue and fashions most stubbornly held their own. A heathen reaction followed his death, and the bulk of the Normans, with the child Duke Richard, fell away for the

time from Christianity, while new pirate-fleets came swarming up the Seine. To the close of the century the whole people are still 'Pirates' to the French around them, their land the 'Pirates' land,' their Duke the 'Pirates' Duke.'" (Green, *History of the English People*, Chap. II, Sect. 3.)

Richard the Good, grandfather of William the Conqueror, was the first of his line to become a Christian. The Norman conquest of England followed, for the third time in the succession of six centuries, exactly the course indicated by mathematical law.

The test may be applied again to the next three centuries, and with like results. In the eleventh century, an English king was named Edward "the Confessor," and soon England was invaded from France. In the thirteenth century, a French king was called "Saint" Louis, and soon France was invaded from England. The Battle of Cressy was fought in 1346, two generations after St. Louis's death. On the French side, were a brilliant company of knights, courtiers, men of arms, all born in a group which for about three centuries had piously accepted and practiced the Christian doctrine of sterile virginity. Opposed to them were the English bowmen, born to a group which had lost its lands and religious houses to the Normans. Their victory was complete. "God has punished us for our sins," cries the chronicler of St. Denys, in a passion of bewildered grief as he tells of the rout of the great host which he had seen mustering beneath his abbey walls. Nine centuries had now passed since the pagan Saxons invaded Christian Britain; and four times in this period the group which sterilized its cold women had been badly beaten by a greatly out-numbered group which did not.

83. England was not again invaded by pagans; but it is interesting to observe in English history the same evidence that like results follow like causes. From the Norman conquest to the end of the thirteenth century the English situation was this: The Normans owned all the land. "The country was portioned out among the captains of the in-

vaders." Land was the only wealth; and Normans the only wealthy men. The conquered English were poor, oppressed, hated and despised.

"The Conqueror and his descendants to the fourth generation were not Englishmen: most of them were born in France: they spent the greater part of their lives in France: their ordinary speech was French: almost every high office in their gift was filled by a Frenchman: every acquisition which they made on the Continent estranged them more and more from the population of our island. One of the ablest among them indeed attempted to win the hearts of his English subjects by espousing an English princess. But by many of his barons, this marriage was regarded as a marriage between a white planter and a quadroon girl would now be regarded in Virginia. In history he is known by the honourable surname of Beauclerc; but, in his own time, his own countrymen called him by a Saxon nickname, in contemptuous allusion to his Saxon connection."

"A cruel penal code, cruelly enforced, guarded the privileges, and even the sports, of the alien tyrants."

"In no country has the enmity of race been carried farther than in England."

"But it is certain that, when John became King, the distinction between Saxon and Norman was strongly marked, and that before the end of the reign of his grandson it had almost disappeared. In the time of Richard the First, the ordinary imprecation of a Norman gentleman was, 'May I become an Englishman!' His ordinary form of indignant denial was 'Do you take me for an Englishman?' The descendant of such a gentleman a hundred years later was proud of the English name." (Macaulay's *History of England*, Chap. I.)

The Normans rapidly changed to zealous Christians.

"The change of manners was accompanied by an even sharper change of faith, a change which bound the land where heathendom had fought most stubbornly for life more closely than other lands to the cause of Christianity and the Church. The Dukes were the first to be touched by the new faith, but the religious movement had no sooner spread to the people than it was welcomed with an almost passionate fanaticism. Every road was crowded with pil-

grims. Monasteries rose in every forest glade." (Green, *History of England*, Chap. II, Sect. III.)

In Sir Walter Besant's *London* the names of the founders of many great religious houses are given:

Matilda, wife of Henry I—1109. Holy Trinity.
William Basing, Dean of St. Paul's, in the reign of Richard I. Nunnery of St. Helen.
Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford—1253. Austin Friars.
Edward I, and his Queen Eleanor, were great benefactors to the Dominicans. The white Friars got their house in London from Edward I, but their chief benefactor was: *Hugh Courtenay*, Earl of Devonshire.
Sir Walter Manny founded in 1371 the house of the Salutation of the Mother of God.
Jordan Briset a Baron of the Realm and Muriel his wife founded the priory of St. John of Jerusalem in the year 1100. They had already founded a priory for nuns.
Simon Fitz Mary founded the Hospital St. Mary of Bethlehem (Sheriff in 1247.)
Walter Brune and Rosia his wife founded the House of St. Mary Spital in 1197.
Edmund, Earl of Lancaster founded the Abbey of St. Clare in 1293.
Edward III founded Free Chapel of the Blessed Virgin.
Richard, Prior of Bermondsey founded St. Thomas's Hospital in 1213.
Peter de Rupibus Bishop of Winchester founded Canons Regular 1215.
William the Conqueror founded a Nunnery at Stratford-le-Bow; later augmented by Stephen, enriched by *Henry II* and *Richard I.*
William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke founded House of St. Mary Rounceval.

Every one of these religious houses was founded by a Norman for Normans. There is actual proof of what might have been presumed, namely, that all the new foundations of religious houses, for two or three centuries after the Norman conquest, were made by Normans, since they were the

only inhabitants of the realm with sufficient property to endow a religious settlement. There is a presumption equally strong that only Normans were admitted to them. The conquerors felt toward the English as white Americans feel toward negroes; they applied an epithet to a Norman king because of his marriage to a Saxon girl. They were a rich, powerful, dominant caste. For two or three centuries, therefore, the English were excluded from religious houses. For them, the sterilization of the pious ceased. During the same period, all these great religious foundations were due to Norman piety, and filled with zealous and celibate Normans. We might expect therefore, a continuous decline of the Norman stock, and a corresponding improvement of the English stock. The evidence shows that just this occurred. Norman religious zeal and Norman religious foundations were in full swing in the twelfth century.[1] Three centuries later, the Norman nobility had suffered a marked decline; and romantic Norman surnames began to be displaced by Saxon Smiths' sons and Howards.[2]

[1] "If it had not been for these drawbacks, the clergy must, one would imagine, have almost acquired the exclusive property of the soil. They did enjoy, according to some authorities, nearly one half of England, and, I believe, a greater proportion in some countries of Europe. They had reached, perhaps, their zenith in respect of territorial property about the conclusion of the twelfth century." (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, Chap. VII, Part I).

In England all this land must have been given to the Church by the Normans. It was theirs.

[2] It is interesting to observe the same change in the relative position of Normans and English that occurred from a similar cause about fourteen centuries earlier between the Roman patricians and plebeians. Cold women avoided repugnant maternity in the aristocracy of Rome from motives of pleasure, among the Normans from motives of religion. In both aristocracies the result was the same.

In the eleventh century the Normans, says William of Malmesbury, "revived by their arrival the observances of religion which were everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in their villages, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites, so that each wealthy man counted that day lost to him

The decline of religion among the Norman conquerors, following the religious sterilization of women, occupied about the same time as the similar decline from the same cause among the Anglo-Saxons. From the eighth century, when religious devotion among the Anglo-Saxons was high, to the eleventh when William of Malmesbury said that it was everywhere "life-less in England," is three centuries. From the eleventh, when it was at its height among the Normans, to the fourteenth when their vices scandalized their tenants and serfs, is three centuries.

84. "Saxon, and Norman, and Dane are we," sang Tennyson in "*A Welcome to Alexandra.*" Not one of these racial stocks was Christian in the fourth century when the doctrine of the sterilization of the pious was first preached, and first adopted.[1] The Danes and Normans were not

which he had neglected to signalize by some magnificent action" Between the eleventh and the fourteenth century the Normans gave nearly half their land to the Church. (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, Chap. VII). In the fourteenth century after the religious sterilization of cold and pious women had been practiced for several generations by the Norman upper classes and had for the same length of time been forbidden to the English lowest classes, their position with respect to religion was reversed. The Normans were irreligious, and unchaste. The English, in the meantime, had become religious and chaste. Green quotes the following from a canon of the fourteenth century:

"'In those days,' says a canon of the time, 'arose a great rumour and clamour among the people, that wherever there was a tournament there came a great concourse of ladies of the most costly and beautiful, but not of the best in the kingdom, sometimes forty or fifty in number, as if they were a part of the tournament, in diverse and wonderful male apparell, in parti-coloured tunics, with short caps and bands wound cord-wise round their head, and girdles bound with gold and silver, and daggers in pouches across their body, and then they proceeded on chosen coursers to the place of tourney, and so expended and wasted their goods and vexed their bodies with scurilous wantonness that the rumour of the people sounded every where; and thus they neither feared God nor blushed at the chaste voice of the people.' They were not called on to blush at the chaste voice of the Church." (Greene, *Short History of the English People*, Chap. V, Sec. 3.)

[1] "What strikes us at once in the new England is, that it was the one purely German nation that rose upon the wreck of Rome. The new

Christianized till the end of the tenth century. The Saxons had been Christianized in the seventh century; but for three centuries after the Norman conquest, they were excluded from religious houses. During this period, Saxon marriage was monogamous; and followed the marriage customs of rising civilization in pagan Rome. The English who fought at Cressy, therefore, had suffered the adverse selection of motherhood for a shorter time than any other Christians in Europe; and had improved their racial qualities by three centuries of selection as favorable as in ancient Rome.

The augmentation of the English spirit in the fourteenth century is a sight to behold. Three centuries earlier they had been the beaten, despised serfs of the Normans. Now, they limit the power of the crown; displace the Norman baronage; beat the chivalry of France; resent the dictation

---

England was a heathen country. The religion of Woden and Thunder triumphed over the religion of Christ. Alone among the German assailants of Rome, the English rejected the faith of the Empire they helped to overthrow." (Green, supra, Chap. I, Sec. II.)

There is a striking similarity between the Norman invasion and settlement of Normandy, and the Moslem invasion and settlement in Spain. In each case, the invaded land contained an older civilization and a Christian people whose cold and pious women were perennially sterilized by the Christian doctrine of sterile virginity; they were invaded by thousands of lusty men who took them as wives and compelled them to be mothers. There was a sharp change from adverse to favorable selection, and in each case a swift improvement in posterity. The Moslems had a brilliant civilization in Cordova only one hundred years after their invasion. The Norman improvement from Rolf the Pirate Dane (d. 927) to Robert the Magnificent, who begins his reign in 1028, was nearly as swift. In the tenth century they appeared as pirates, and in the eleventh they were reigning in England, Southern Italy, and Sicily, and were celebrated for the magnificence of their courts. One wonders whether the pagan Norman invaders, were at first strictly monogamous in France. If there were no further infusion of the blood of French mothers after the first pirates took their first wives, the Norman invaders of England and Sicily were half Dane and half French. If French wives were taken by new emigrants or new generations of Normans, the continued infusion of French blood would have reduced the proportion of Norman blood, at the time of the English and Sicilian conquests, to something between

of the Pope; stop the payment of Peter's pence; levy taxes on the Church lands and religious houses; get a charter and Parliament; give birth to Chaucer, Longland, Wyclif, and the Lollards; and witness a peasant revolt. These are the fruits of three centuries, during which Norman power, wealth and pride forbade religious sterilization of English women.

85. Interesting corroborative evidence of Christianity's debasing effect upon posterity during the period of the Christian doctrine and practice of a sterile virginity, is to be found in many instances after the tenth century. For five hundred years more, it is still noticeable that national genius and power rise higher immediately after a heathen inundation (and rise more rapidly near the borders of the conquered country) than under long and uninterrupted Christian rule. Two instances of this have already been noticed—the continuous intellectual and spiritual decay of

---

one-fourth and one-sixteenth. I have computed that the Moslems who created the brilliant civilization of Cordova were probably one-sixteenth Arab, and fifteen-sixteenths white European blood.

The noticeable differences between the Moslem invasion of Spain and the Norman invasion of France are that, in the first, the invaders retained their religion and language; in the second, they lost both. Both the Moslem religion and the Arabic language were preserved by the invaders of Spain through their fanatical devotion to the Koran. Insistence that all children should read that book necessarily made Arabic the universal tongue. To Normans born of French women, French was the mother tongue; French and Latin, the languages in which sermons were preached and hymns sung.

A very interesting parallel to the rapid affrenchion of the Normans may now be found in lower Canada. In the province of Quebec, the traveller will find tiny villages where nothing but French is spoken, and over the door of the village shop an old Scotch name—Crawford, Ferguson, McGregor, or McPherson. The shop-keeper is French and speaks nothing but French. Upon inquiry, one will be told that after the conquest of Quebec, by Wolfe, in 1756, some companies of Scotch troops were disbanded. The men married the French inhabitants of the province; paternal lineage preserved the Scotch sur-names; but those who bear it today, have in their veins about the same proportion of Scotch blood as, I suppose, the civilized Moslems of Cordova had of Arab blood, or the Norman invaders of England and Sicily had of Danish blood.

Constantinople under uninterrupted orthodox Christianity, and the rise of Sicily under Moslem and Norman rule. Later examples are found in Spain, which steadily increased in national vigor as long as the Christians of Castile and Aragon suffered perennial raids from the hostile Moslems of the south. The decline of Spain began after the exclusion of the Moslems and the Jews had made the land wholly Christian, ruled by Christian prelates. In Languedoc, a refined civilization followed the Moslem occupation of southern France. The Albigenses were near Christian neighbors of the Spanish Moslems. In the east of Europe, Slav genius reached its highest point after the long Tartar inundation. Following it, and near its borders, Poland rose to a power from which it declined in the following centuries of uninterrupted Christian rule. Also near its borders appeared the spiritual quickening of the Czechs. John Huss and Copernicus were each born after and near the Tartar flood. Professor Mavor finds the true origin of serfdom or "land-bondage" in Russia to be due to an increasing deterioration of the peasantry after the subsidence of the Tartars. (*Economic History of Russia.*)

86. The reader has doubtless noticed that the Christian doctrine of a sterile virginity in these centuries has been called the "sterilization of the pious," "sterilization of cold women," or "sterilization of cold and pious women," and has perhaps passed on these terms a mental criticism, that they show confusion of thought as between pious women and cold women; and that they ascribe to its effect upon one sex the results of a monasticism which in fact applied to both sexes. The correct explanation of the first is as follows:

In a group of women of equal piety the religious teaching of sterile virginity will tend to sterilize that portion of the group sexually more frigid.

In a group of women of equal sexual ardor, the same religious teaching will tend to sterilize those women who are the more pious.

In neither case is the entire group sterilized; confronted with a voluntary choice between maternity and religious sterility, some women of each group always chose the former. Otherwise there would have been no posterity at all. Individual motives for such choice can never be ascertained. The results in a group, however, can be declared with mathematical certainty. As long as women exercised their voluntary choice, posterity descended from the women who were least cold, or least pious. It is mathematically correct. therefore, to describe the result of this choice as the "sterilization of the pious," or the "sterilization of cold women," or the "sterilization of pious and cold women."

87. The doctrine of virginity was preached to men as well as women; and monastic institutions contained perhaps as many of the former as of the latter; while the priestly function, exercised by men alone, was confined to celibates. There is, however, evidence that the monastic sterilization of men did not affect posterity either adversely or otherwise.

Organized warfare is a great sterilizer of fighting men on sea and land. The perennial warfare of an expanding nation, steadily enlarging its boundaries, continuously carries its soldiers and sailors farther and farther from their homes. More and more of them spend the entire period of greatest bodily activity and sexual power in camps and ships, unmarried and without becoming fathers. Increasing numbers of them die in that condition. The sterilization of soldiers and sailors is confined to men alone; and if the fighting qualities of posterity were adversely affected by the sterilization of fighting men, such an expanding nation as Rome would soon suffer from their subtraction. After some generations no new fighting men would be born. It is apparent, however, that this did not take place. From the age of Numa, Rome fought continuously and incessantly for every addition of territory. She fought from one end of Italy to another, thence into Sicily, Spain, Gaul, Africa, Macedonia, Asia, and Egypt. During a period of seven

centuries, enormous numbers of fighting men were sterilized in each generation. Repeated military disasters wiped out entire Roman forces. Yet, it is impossible in this period to observe any deterioration in the fighting qualities of the Roman common soldier—on the contrary they improved. The soldiers that followed Lucullus into Asia, or Cæsar into Gaul in the first century B.C. were better fighting men than their ancestors had been five centuries earlier. As long as Rome continued the compulsory maternity of its cold women, the annual, biennial, or triennial decimation of its legions did not in any degree impair the fighting qualities of posterity. Losses of men at war were more than made good by the Roman women. The race steadily improved, until the selection of its mothers changed.

On this evidence, therefore, the effect of the religious sterilization of men and women may be accurately stated. The religious sterilization of men did not impair the spiritual qualities of posterity. As long as the uncelibate men impressed maternity upon cold and pious women the losses due to masculine celibacy were more than made good, and the race improved. It was the adverse selection of mothers —the religious sterilization of *women*, not of men, that debased posterity.

88. The whole period of more than two thousand years from Numa's reign in Rome to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, may be separated into two large divisions. The first division, ending with the reign of Emperor Trajan, was a period of expansion. From a tiny village Rome became mistress of the civilized world. During all this period the boundaries of Roman dominion were continuously enlarging, and each generation of Roman soldiers fought farther and farther from Rome. The second period, beginning with the reign of Hadrian and continuing to the fall of Constantinople, was the period of contracting empire. Sometimes its boundaries were maintained; sometimes a province or city was lost; sometimes one half the Roman dominions were lost in a generation. Allowing for these

oscillations, it is generally true that from Hadrian onward the empire never expanded, but continuously contracted, and that finally its last vestiges were limited to the city and suburbs of Constantinople. During this period, accordingly, Roman soldiers of each successive generation, were fighting nearer their homes; and at its end their battle front covered a land area hardly larger than Rome had conquered five hundred years B.C.

Now, if the sterilization of fighting men impaired a nation's military power, Rome should have grown continuously weaker during the first of these periods, and continuously stronger during the second. She should have been weaker in the third Punic War than in the first; weaker when Cæsar conquered Gaul than when the Gauls sacked Rome; and weaker when Trajan invaded and annexed the province of Dacia than when Cæsar conquered Gaul. On the other hand, the contraction of her battle lines during the second period should have continuously added to her strength. The drain of fighting men was less after the withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain, Spain, Gaul, and Africa; and finally, when Constantinople held a territory so small that her soldiers could return to their homes regularly upon relief, new Rome should have enjoyed all the advantages of old Rome, and have witnessed in each rising generation a like accession of martial spirit.

Simply stating the proposition reveals its absurdity. The historical truth is that the continuous sterilization of her fighting men did not weaken expanding Rome; nor did the surrender of distant frontiers and the concentration of their legions at home strengthen declining Constantinople. The difference between the Italian village which conquered the Mediterranean world and the imperial city which fell a victim to the Ottoman Turks, was the result of the difference in the selection of mothers. Not the sterilization of fighting men, but the sterilization of cold women, accounts for the impairment of posterity.

CHAPTER X

MODERN CIVILIZATION. TENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

89. The twelve centuries, from the fourth to the sixteenth of the Christian era, embrace the entire period of mediæval history; together with an additional century before and after the usual reckoning of a thousand years for the Middle Ages. The period begins with the enthusiastic approval and adoption by the Christians of the religious sterilization of cold and pious women. In the first six centuries of this period there is exhibited:

I. The decline of Christian valor and the extinction of peoples who were Christianized during the fourth century.

II. The surrender of vast Christian territories to the Moslems, and the conquest of other Christian lands by non-Christian nations.

III. The decline of Christian intellect; superstition displaces reason, ignorance succeeds learning, and Christians are no longer able to worship an invisible God, but introduce the worship of images, shrines, and relics.

IV. Sexual purity, and the severity of monogamous marriage, practiced for three centuries by the early Christians, are abandoned; sexual laxity, incontinence, and concubinage are found throughout Christendom, and in the Church.

V. The fall of civilization and of its memories, traditions, letters, and wealth; these are succeeded by barbarism, its laws, customs, and poverty.

At the end of six more centuries (twelve centuries after the Christian decline begins), Christendom exhibits in the sixteenth century:

1. A revival of Christian valor; instead of the sur-

render of Christian territory, vast accretions are made to Christendom throughout the globe.

2. A rise of Christian intellect; skepticism, inquiry, knowledge, and reason begin to displace authority, credulity, ignorance, and superstition. Intellectual freedom fights servility. A large body of Christians revive the worship of an invisible God, and abhor images.

3. Indissoluble monogamous marriage is firmly established and is authoritatively claimed as a sacrament of the Christian Church; the Church joins the temporal power to extinguish concubinage (See the concordat of 1516 between Francis I and Pope Leo X).

4. The rise of a new civilization, not out of the peoples that had once possessed the old, but out of barbarians, Christianized since the fourth century.

It is plain that the decline which began in the fourth century continued as long as the tenth; for, as late as the tenth century, Christian countries were still invaded and conquered by non-Christian barbarians. In the west of Europe, the last of these incursions occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the east of Europe, the same spectacle was presented as late as the fifteenth century, when Constantinople surrendered to the Turks. It is clear that in Western Europe, the decline of posterity continued in Christendom until about the year one thousand; that about that date (i.e., in the tenth and eleventh centuries) decline ended and improvement began; and that, at this time accordingly, new factors in the selection of posterity should have come into operation.

In Eastern Europe, it is equally plain that the decline of Christian posterity continued uninterruptedly up to the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth century. In Eastern Europe, the history of Christendom shows no reversal; no new factors in the selection of posterity appeared; and the five centuries, from the tenth to the fifteenth, which marked a considerable rise in the newly Christianized peoples of Western Europe, showed no improvement in the ancient

Christian lands by the Bosphorus. Hence, a double guide in the search for these new factors.

Chronologically, they must be factors arising in and after the tenth century. Geographically they must be factors operating in Western Europe on the newly Christianized barbarians; not operating in Eastern Europe or the realms ruled from Constantinople. Each of the factors now to be considered fulfills these conditions.

1. The Morning Gift. 2. The Virgin Mother. 3. "Holy" Matrimony.

90. *The Morning Gift.*—This was a gift made by the husband to the wife on the morning after the consummation of the marriage. It might be made if he had married a widow; but a peculiar and special obligation rested upon the husband if he had married a virgin; and the morning gift was a present received by the wife for her virginity. The morning gift was not of Latin or Roman origin; it was unknown to the Christian Church; it is never heard of in the ecclesiastical writings of the early Church, in the lay or clerical histories or annals of the Roman empire, or of the Christian provinces of that empire before the barbaric invasion; and it is unheard of among the ancient Christian peoples of Constantinople. The references to it turned up in the New English Dictionary (under the ancient Teutonic form of *moryeve*) run from *circa* 974 to 1597. Every one of these references is in old English or German text. Freeman relates that in the year 1100,

> "when an English Eadgyth married a Norman King, she had to change herself into a Norman Matilda. And it is well to mark that the royal bride, like other Teutonic brides, had her morning gift, a gift which took the form of cities and governments, and a gift which brought no good to England." (Freeman, *Norman Conquest of England*, Vol. I, Chap. V, p. 306.)

In this custom, may be found the first effective opposition to the religious sterilization of chastity. In Eastern Europe, both before and after, and in Western Europe before, the

tenth century, the Church taught that virginity was pious, holy and barren. Virgins were the cloistered brides of Christ, and buried their virtues in their graves. In Western Europe, for the first time in six centuries, the chaste and pious virgin was now regularly, and by approved barbarian custom, dedicated to marriage and fruitfulness. Her chastity received public acknowledgment and a special gift, and was by marriage devoted to the will of a husband who would make her fruitful, so that in Western Europe from the tenth century onward, piety and chastity were no longer wholly subtracted from posterity. Princes and nobles set the example. By rewarding virginity dedicated to fruitfulness, they added to posterity the virtues of obedient virgin brides.

91. *The Virgin Mother.*—In early Christian art, the maternal aspects of the Blessed Virgin were little expressed and never emphasized. She was usually a figure in a historical group; the most frequent examples of which depict the Adoration of the Magi. She is pictured, likewise, with St. Peter and St. Paul, sometimes with the Christ Child, but more usually without. The most numerous of the female figures found in the catacombs at Rome, far outnumbering all others, is the *Orante*, a single female figure standing with arms outstretched in an attitude of prayer. The name "Maria" sometimes makes certain the ascription of this figure to the Virgin. In the absence of any name the *Orante* may sometimes be the Virgin, sometimes St. Agnes, or some other female Saint or martyr. After the persecution of the Christians ceased and the empire had become Christian, the holiness of sterile virginity became an accepted Christian doctrine. From this time, the Byzantine Virgin was most usually represented alone and childless; or the child was a highly conventionalized figure of the Son of God. The *maternal* relation between Virgin and Child was conspicuously absent. Sterility, rather than motherhood, is depicted.[1]

[1] Greek pictures of the Virgin may still be seen in many of the towns of Southern Italy such as Amalfi, Barletta, Otranto, Ravello, Salerno.

"This type gradually degenerates with the darkness of the age and the decline of art. The countenance sweetly smiling on the child becomes sad and severe. The head is bowed with a gloomy and almost sinister expression, and the countenance gradually darkens till it assumes a black colour. At length *even the sentiment of maternal affection is effaced*, both the mother and child become stiff and lifeless, the child is swathed in stiff bands, and has an expression of pain, rather than of gentleness, or placid infancy." (Milman, *History of Christianity*, III, p. 394.)

In the west, after the thirteenth century this symbolic representation of the Virgin was entirely reversed; fruitful instead of sterile virginity was painted. She gained in Italy a new name, characteristic of a new worship. Instead of the *Orante*, alone and sterile, she became the *Madonna*,—the Virgin Mother, pure and fruitful. Piety, chastity, abnegation, obedience, devotion, and holiness were depicted on her countenance; and she was shown above all as the *Mother*; occasionally alone, listening to the annunciation of her pregnancy, but most often with her new-born naked babe, adoring, fondling, or suckling him. So often was she pictured with her Child, that it is much more difficult to find a mediæval picture of the Virgin without the Christ Child than with Him.[1]

After the thirteenth century, pictures of the Virgin and Child were in great demand. Bernardo Daddi (about 1330–

The best example I have found is in the Church of Santa Maria Incoronata at Positano. This picture was brought by Greek sailors from Constantinople. They were overtaken by storm, ascribed their miraculous preservation to its virtues, and when they made the land they built a church where the picture now hangs behind the altar. All these Greek pictures of the Virgin differ from the Italian Madonna in the common and universal characteristic that they depict sterility instead of maternity.

The famous Hodegetria in the cathedral at Bari, a picture of the Virgin reputed to have been painted by St. Luke, cannot be included as a true example of the Byzantine Virgin.

[1] The catalogue of the National Gallery at London contains 176 entries in its index of the Virgin. Of these only six depict her alone. There is no example of the Byzantine Virgin.

1336) painted great numbers of small Madonnas which could be used as portable domestic altar pieces, and, from this period, the chaste Madonna—the pious but fruitful Virgin—was worshipped by all the Christians of Western Europe. Every church was adorned by Her; every house that could afford it,—nay every bed-chamber,—contained her picture. Sculpture seconded painting, and an image of the Virgin and her Child, could be seen at every wayside crossing. No vendor of soaps or pills has ever advertised them more extensively. All of Western Europe was told in picture, and stone, and image that Christian salvation had come to mankind, not through the sterile Virgin, but through the Virgin *Mother*; and that chastity, piety, and virginity, might, by the will of God, be fruitful as well as barren. The Christian doctrine and practice of a thousand years were reversed—not, however, in the ancient Christian lands of Eastern Europe. Only the barbarians of the West heard the new doctrine and saw the new birth.

92. *"Holy" Matrimony.*—The "church wedding" of the present day is a familiar spectacle. The bride, on her father's arm, leading the solemn procession up the aisle to the altar; the waiting bride-groom; the officiating clergy, receiving the bride from her father into the hands of the Church, and bestowing her with the Church's blessing upon the bride-groom; the bridesmaids, groomsmen, witnesses, ushers, and attendants; the great concourse of friends and relations; all assembled at a solemn religious ceremony proclaimed to celebrate the holy ordinance of matrimony which, by divine decree, consecrates a virgin to fruitfulness. All this is done decently, modestly, with prayers and benediction, as befits a religious solemnity. The coarse jokes, the ribaldry and horse-play have disappeared, and are remembered only in a few old traditional customs which symbolize them, as the Romans used annually to throw human images into the Tiber to symbolize a human sacrifice which had long passed away. The spiritual, not the carnal side of marriage, is uppermost. And the bridal couple after the

celebration, are suffered to depart ("I and Albert alone") without further priestly interference. The spectacle is now so familiar that many Christians suppose that it was always a part of the Christian Church. It is, in fact, about three hundred years old; and synchronizes with the rise of civilization since the sixteenth century. Prior to the Reformation, the Church celebrated with great solemnity those rites which consecrated men and women to sterility; the rite of marriage was pagan in tradition and practice.

93. It was the newly Christianized barbarians of the West that effected, after ten centuries, a reversal in Christian ideas respecting marriage. During the first three centuries, when their spiritual stature was steadily rising, and the Christians improved so as to withstand and defy persecution and to seize the imperial power, the Christian Fathers, though they elevated virginity above marriage, spoke very strongly on the folly, and even the impiety of prohibiting lawful wedlock. They acknowledged and urged the admitted fact that several of the Apostles were married. This is the tone of Ignatius (A.D. 101), of Tertullian (A.D. 192), and above all of Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 192).

"But in the fourth century the eloquent Fathers vie with each other in exalting the transcendant, holy, angelic virtue of virginity. Every one of the more distinguished writers—Basil, the two Gregories, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, has a treatise or treatises, upon virginity, on which he expands with all the glowing language he can command. It became a common doctrine that sexual intercourse was the sign and consequence of the Fall." (Milman, *History of Christianity*, III, 11.)

Marriage was inexorably condemned. St. Augustine taught that the unmarried children will shine in heaven like beaming stars, whilst their parents will look like the dim ones. Jerome is the most vehement of all. "I glorify marriage, but only for this, that it gives us virgins." "Though it may be marriage that replenishes the earth, it is virginity

that fills heaven."[1] And the impurity of marriage, the superior sanctity of sterility continued, until the German invasion of Italy, to be orthodox Christian doctrine.

94. The Christian peoples to whom this doctrine was taught, completely disappeared. Where their lands were not conquered and repeopled by infidels, they were invaded and settled by new races of barbarians, Christianized since the Fathers had taught the impurity of marriage. Among these new Christians, marriage was an ancient and honored pagan institution. It was usually monogamous, and the monogamous wife was looked on with the greatest respect. It was usually for life. It was usually marked by a transfer of property with or for the bride. Among freemen and the upper classes, the bargain was made between men, and the bride with her estate was its subject matter.

Tacitus' evidence of sexual purity and monogamous marriage among the pagan Germans in the first century A.D. is here given:

"Marriage is considered as a strict and sacred institution. In the national character there is nothing so truly commendable. To be contented with one wife, is peculiar to the Germans. They differ, in this respect, from all other savage nations. There are, indeed, a few instances of polygamy; not, however, the effect of loose desire, but occasioned by the ambition of various families, who court the alliance of the chief, distinguished by the nobility of his rank and character. The bride brings no portion; she receives a dowry from her husband. In the presence of her parents and relations, he makes a tender of part of his wealth; if accepted, the match is approved. In the choice of the presents, female vanity is not consulted. There are no frivolous trinkets to adorn the future bride. The whole fortune consists of oxen, a caparisoned horse, a shield, a spear, and a sword. She, in return, delivers a present of arms, and, by this exchange of gifts, the marriage is concluded. This is the nuptial ceremony, this is the bond of union, these their hymeneal gods. Lest the wife should

[1] "Nuptiæ terram replennet, virginitas Paradisum.

"Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium, sed quia mihi virgines generat."

think her sex an exemption from the rigours of the severest virtue, and the toils of war, she is informed of her duty by the marriage ceremony, and thence she learns, that she is received by her husband to be his partner in toil and danger, to dare with him in war, and suffer with him in peace. The oxen yoked, the horse accoutred, and the arms given on the occasion, inculcate this lesson; and thus she is prepared to live, and thus to die. These are the terms of their union; she receives her armour as a sacred treasure, to be preserved inviolate, and transmitted with honour to her sons, a portion for their wives, and from them descending to her grand-children."

"In consequence of these manners, the married state is a life of affection and female constancy. The virtue of the woman is guarded from seduction; no public spectacles to seduce her; no banquets to inflame her passions; no baits of pleasure to disarm her virtue. The art of intriguing by clandestine letters is unknown to both sexes. Populous as the country is, adultery is rarely heard of: when detected, the punishment is instant, and inflicted by the husband. He cuts off the hair of his guilty wife, and, having assembled her relations, expels her naked from his house, pursuing her with stripes through the village. To public loss of honour no favour is shown. She may possess beauty, youth, and riches: but a husband she can never obtain. Vice is not treated by the Germans as a subject of raillery, nor is the profligacy of corrupting and being corrupted called the fashion of the age. By the practice of some states, female virtue is advanced to still higher perfection; with them none but virgins marry. When the bride has fixed her choice, her hopes of matrimony are closed for life. With one husband, as with one life, one mind, one body, every woman is satisfied; in him her happiness is centered; her desires extend no further; and the principle is not only an affection for her husband's person, but a reverence for the married state. To set limits to population, by rearing up only a certain number of children, and destroying the rest, is accounted a flagitious crime. Among the savages of Germany, virtuous manners operate more than good laws in other countries." (Tacitus, *A Treatise on the Situation, Manners, and People of Germany*, Chaps. XVIII and XIX.)

Among the barbarians, after their conversion to Christianity, the same marriage customs continued; except that

as property, especially movable or personal property, increased, it became an increasing factor in marriage as in other incidents of life.

"With the Old English, as well as among the other Teutonic peoples, at the dawn of history marriage was a private transaction, taking the form of a sale of the bride by the father or other legal guardian to the bridegroom. The procedure consisted of two parts: First was the *beweddung* or betrothal; and second, the *gifts* or actual tradition of the bride at the nuptials. The *beweddung* was a 'real contract of sale,' essential to which was one-sided performance; that is, payment by the bridegroom of the *Weotuma* or *Witthum*, the price of the bride. In ancient times the person of the woman was doubtless the object of purchase; and within the historical period woman, among most Teutonic peoples, remained in perpetual tutelage. When the guardianship of the father or other male relation, as representative of the clan-group or *Sippe*, ended, that of the husband began."

"As a matter of fact, the Old English laws speak bluntly of 'buying a maid;' and in Germany 'to buy a wife' was a familiar phrase of marriage throughout the Middle Ages." (Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, Chap. VI.)

Among the nobles and landlords, the association of coverture with the acquirement of property rights and privileges, was still greater. Marriage was a muniment of title to real estate.

"This will appear still more clearly if we consider feudal marriages. On this subject poetical and historical sources are in remarkable accord. Long ago it was said: In the manners and customs of that epoch marriage was, before all else, a union of two seigniories. The seignior married in order to extend his fief, as well as to raise sons capable of defending it; in his eyes a wife represented, above all, an estate and a castle.

"The first consequence of this peculiar conception was that the husband was chosen by the father or suzerain, and the feeling of the young girl to be married was not consulted in any way. The feudal heiress passively received the knight or baron who was destined for her. She was, in a sense, absorbed in the estate or the castle; she formed a part

of the real estate; she passed with the land to the one who was to possess it, and her consent mattered little. As a young girl, orphan, or widow she could not resist her father, who held the seigniory, or the suzerain, who in certain cases had acquired the disposal of it. On this point, as always, feudal usage appears in the *chansons de geste* in striking relief. The kings are to be seen distributing fiefs, and the women who represent them, to their faithful vassals as if it were purely a question of material interests. (*Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus*, Luchaire, Chap. XI). See the citations of authorities.

95. The Mediæval Church, composed of newly Christianized barbarians, laggingly followed their barbarian marriage customs; so that gradually, after the tenth century, the Western Church separated from the earlier view of marriage, once universal in the Christian Church, and from the view still held by the contemporaneous Eastern Church, and followed the barbarians in making a public acknowledgment and dedication of chastity to fruitfulness. Ecclesiastical progress toward the new view of marriage was slow. It is recounted by Howard in his *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, Chapters VII and VIII. In the tenth century, Christians were still married according to pagan rites. The Church pronounced its benediction but did not join husband and wife in matrimony. By the fourteenth century, the priest "gives the woman to the man, saying in Latin the words: I join you in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen." This formula is never found earlier than the fourteenth century. Marriage was recognized as one of the seven sacraments: first in 1164, in the fourth book of Peter Lombard's Sentences; next in 1208, by Innocent IV, in the Profession of Faith prescribed for the Waldensians. Finally, in the Council of Florence in 1439, and the Council of Trent in 1545–63, "Holy" Matrimony was expressly recognized and claimed as a sacrament of the Church.

In the tenth century, the Western Church extended its blessing to matrimony; joined husband and wife in wedlock in the fourteenth; but did not permit marriages to be per-

formed within the body of the House of God until the sixteenth. All the ancient missals mention the placing of the man and woman before the door of the church, at the beginning of the nuptial ceremony, and direct, towards the conclusion, that here they shall enter the church as far as the step of the altar. And the reason vulgarly assigned for this was that "it would have been indecent to give permission within the Church for a man and a woman to sleep together." "Until the time of Edward VI, marriages were performed in the church-porch, and not in the church. Edward I was married at the door of Canterbury cathedral, September 9, 1299, to Margaret, sister of the king of France; and until 1599, the people of France were married at the church-door."[1] The Wif of Bathe begins her prologue, "Husbondes at chirche dore have I had five." Under King Edward VI (1547–1553), the parliamentary reformation of marriage and other rites, first permitted the man and woman to come into the body or middle of the church, standing no longer as formerly at the door. In Herrick's Hesperides (1648), there is still found a "porch Verse" written for a marriage, and indicating that the custom of marrying people at the church-porch had been so long established that it survived a century after the Reformation.

The decree of the fourth Council of Carthage, 398 A.D., enacted that "when the bride-groom and bride have received the benediction let them remain that same night in a state of virginity out of reverence for the benediction." "But in time the clergy judged it expedient to mitigate the rigour of the canon, and accordingly they granted husbands the right of lying with their own wives on the first night of marriage, provided that they paid a moderate fee for the privilege to the proper ecclesiastical authority. This was the true *jus primae noctis*."[2] (*Folk-lore in the Old Testa-*

[1] Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, Tit, *Marriage Ceremony*.

[2] In Amiens the episcopal officers until 1607 exacted a tribute from newly married couples for permission to pass together the first three nights after the wedding. (Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, Chap. XXI.)

ment: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend and Law. By Sir James George Frazer.) Sir James Frazer cites a great quantity of convincing evidence.

"In the Papal times no new-married couple could go to bed together till the bridal bed had been blessed. In a manuscript entitled, Historical Passages concerning the Clergy in the Papal Times, cited in the History of Shrewsbury, 1779, p. 92, it is stated that 'the pride of the clergy and the bigotry of the laity were such that new-married couples were made to wait till mid-night, after the marriage-day, before they would pronounce a benediction, unless handsomely paid for it, and they durst not undress without it, on pain of excommunication.'" (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, Tit: Sack-Posset, Vol. II.)

Thus, it appears, that from 398 A.D., when Christian civilization was crumbling, down to the fifteenth century, the space of full one thousand years, orthodox Christians submitted to the view that marriage was a carnal indulgence which the Church could not approve, but tolerated for the weakness of mankind, and for a payment of money.

96. The recognition of matrimony as "holy," and as a sacrament of the Church, had two immediate and important consequences:

I. Indissoluble monogamous marriage, already an established custom of the Western barbarians, now received religious or superstitious sanction, and in a few generations was venerated as an ordinance of God.

II. The power of convents to affect posterity by the adverse selection of all the pious virgins for sterility, was greatly curtailed and almost extinguished.

The Christian Empire of Rome, both east and west, had never required or enforced indissoluble monogamous marriage. The institution of marriage had originated and declined among the pagan inhabitants of the empire; was denounced by the Christian Fathers of the fourth century as inferior to celibacy; and was regarded, therefore, under the Christian successors of Constantine as a pagan rather

than a Christian inheritance. The marriage ceremony was a pagan and not a Christian rite. The Church pointed to sterility as the way to heaven, and received and enforced the monastic but not the marriage vows of the faithful. The Roman laws regulating the cohabitation of men and women, including concubinage as well as marriage, and establishing the rights of offspring, remained under the Christian substantially what they had been under the pagan Emperors. Some futile and short-lived attempts at change were made. In general, however, in the Eastern empire, under Constantine's successors for a thousand years, the Roman civil law contemplated parentage as the result of a free union of a man and woman. The union might be non-ceremonial, which was concubinage; or it might be ceremonial, which was marriage. The offspring of either form of union had the rights awarded them by law. In both forms of union, the selection of mothers was about the same, i.e., motherhood was undertaken voluntarily by a woman who preferred it to sterility, and who could escape it if she chose. In concubinage, this resulted from the loose form of the union which was simply a non-ceremonial and voluntary cohabitation. In marriage, it resulted from equal rights of property and of divorce, which in this age were enjoyed by Roman wives. With inconsiderable exceptions, the right of "free divorce," or divorce by mutual consent, was preserved throughout the whole history of the Eastern empire; and likewise the right to a divorce upon the petition of the wife as well as upon the petition of the husband.

Let voluntary cohabitation and free divorce be coupled for a few generations with the idea that marriage is impure, and religious virginity should be chosen by all who can abide it; and soon the result will be to debase marriage into the carnal union that it is accused of being. Pious and cold women will be sterilized by their religion or their repugnance. Posterity will be descended from the remainder. So that, in a few generations, the marriage ceremony will unite for carnal gratification the descendants of parents

who were themselves united for carnal gratification. The selection of motherhood will be wholly adverse. No one will be able to claim descent from a mother whose children were begotten of the holy spirit of obedience, abnegation, piety, or duty, instead of sexual desire.

97. In the west of Europe, the adverse selection of motherhood, after the tenth century, gradually improved. The barbarian invasion of the ancient Roman provinces expunged for the time being the ancient Roman law. The barbarians had laws and customs of their own. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the displacement was complete; new peoples, newly converted to Christianity, with new laws and new marriage customs, formed the new Christendom of the West. To these Teutonic tribes, the voluntary union of man and woman was not marriage or even concubinage, but whoredom. Marriage was a bargain between freemen; between king and courtier, suzerain and vassal or father and son-in-law. The subject of the bargain was a virgin who was to be wedded for life to the man accepted as her husband. Her own wishes were not considered. If she was heiress to a fief, she went with the fief. If she was daughter of a freeman, another freeman bought her from her father. She was not permitted to consecrate her virginity to religious sterility; on the contrary it was by marriage publicly dedicated to fruitfulness, and received acknowledgment and reward in the morning-gift. After marriage, she was not allowed to petition for divorce. Her husband's rights over her person and estate were permanent and indissoluble, acquired by purchase or gift from the man who had the right to dispose of them by giving her in marriage. Title thus acquired by marriage was indefeasible; she could no more set aside the transfer of her person than the conveyance of the castle or fief which went with it. Her husband's title to one was as good as to the other.

"So long as marriage was a strictly civil (lay) ceremony, as well as a purely civil engagement, the bride's father or

guardian performed the rite. It was he who took her by the neck and shoulders and gave her to the bridegroom. He gave the symbolic shoe. In the Danish matrimonial rite of a subsequent period, the father's part was even more impressive. In language, never in later times permitted to our English clergy, he declared himself the actual maker of the marriage, when, on handfasting the bride and groom, he said to the latter, 'I join this woman to you in honour to be your wife, with a right to half of your bed and keys, and to a third of your goods acquired or to be acquired, according to the law of the land and St. Eric. In the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'" (Jeaffreson, *Brides and Bridals*, I, 53.)

This barbarian ideal of marriage was gradually adopted by the Western Church. In a religious age, religious sanction was added to secular custom. The Church, which had once considered marriage as worldly and impure, now adopted rites for its solemnization. By a slow progress, it superseded and bettered barbarian law. Many centuries passed before it would join a man and woman in "holy" matrimony, or pronounce them man and wife; but when this point was reached it soon claimed the sole right to perform the marriage ceremony, and denounced as adulterers and fornicators those who cohabited without its intervention. It took to itself the whole law of marriage and divorce, and declared who were married, whose marriages were annulled, and who might marry again. Wedlock changed from a temporal custom to a religious mystery; matrimony became "holy" matrimony; and the Church, gratified with an enormous accession to its power, repeated on every occasion "what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." The marriage service adapted itself to the new dogma. Freemen had given or sold their virgin daughters in marriage to an accepted husband. The Church adopted a rubric whereby the father gave his daughter unto the Church; and the Church thereupon bestowed her upon the bridegroom. So that by a beautiful symbolism, still preserved in the marriage service of the English Church, a pure virgin

is, under the ordinance of God and by a religious ceremony, consecrated by the Church to fruitfulness. She is blessed with children, not because she has felt the desires of earth, but because she has obeyed an ordinance of heaven.[1]

98. After the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) forbade the further multiplication of religious houses, one of the marked effects of the ecclesiastical doctrine of "holy" matrimony, was a change in the selection of the inmates of convents. So long as faithful and devout Christians were taught to regard marriage and fruitfulness as worldly vices, virginity and sterility as heavenly virtues, conventual life exercised over motherhood a continuously adverse selection. Perennially it sterilized all those women who were most pious or most cold, leaving posterity to descend from the remainder. After the Church recognized matrimony as "holy," and proclaimed marriage as a sacrament, the convent's power to continue its adverse selection was greatly curtailed, and almost ceased. Girls were still sent to convents, but the line of spiritual selection was modified. It was no longer the pious and obedient that were marked out for conventual sterility, and the ardent and unruly for

[1] It was in this way that Mary, Mother of Jesus, was married. The account is found in the works of St. Jerome, but was known in the earliest ages as the "Gospel of the birth of Mary," and was attributed to St. Matthew.

"At that time the high-priest made a public order. That all the virgins who had public settlements in the temple, and were come to this age, should return home, and, as they were now of a proper maturity, should, according to the custom of their country, endeavour to be married.

"To which command, though all the other virgins readily yielded obedience, Mary the Virgin of the Lord alone answered, that she could not comply with it.

"Assigning these reasons, that both she and her parents had devoted her to the service of the Lord; and besides, that she had vowed virginity to the Lord which vow she was resolved never to break through by lying with a man." (*The Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, Chap. V, Verses 4, 5, 6.)

Notwithstanding her objections she was betrothed and married to

marriage and fruitfulness. Girls were given to sterility, as they were given to marriage, by a will other than their own. "The little girl was brought up with the idea that some day, as soon as might be, she should marry that boy, just as for two centuries in the famous houses of Catholic countries many of the daughters were brought up in the expectation that one day they should take the veil." (Ferrero, *Women of the Caesars*, Chap. I.) Marriage and conventual life had become equally holy. Equally it was the duty of an obedient daughter of a house to accept the part chosen for her by others. Piety, chastity, abnegation, obedience, and duty now called her to motherhood with the same clear conscience, spiritual sanction, and ecclesiastical approval, that once had called her only to sterility. The Church, indeed, from the time it recognized matrimony as "holy," taught to the faithful the duties of matrimonial life, as formerly it had taught them the duties of monastic life. Its ministers read from its altars the scriptural injunction of obedience by wives to husbands. Brides again received from God's anointed the admonition once given to Christian women by St. Peter and St. Paul.

In ten centuries, the reversal of Christian doctrine was

Joseph; having been dedicated by her parents to the Church and by the Church to fruitfulness. Her consent was not asked.

The Eastern Church preserves the ancient orthodox view of marriage "by mutual spontaneous consent of both the parties." The bride is not given in marriage either by her parents or by the Church. She gives herself. In the marriage service of the Orthodox Church, at the beginning:

"The priest now asks them, each separately, whether they have the spontaneous wish and firm intention to contract the conjugal union with each other, and whether they have not promised to contract that union with any one else. On receiving their affirmative answer to the former question and their negative to the second, the priest proceeds to the actual rite of marriage." (*A Manual of the Orthodox Church's Divine Services*. Compiled by Arch-Priest D. Sokolof.)

Thus Christian marriage among the Teutonic and Scandinavian races where modern civilization grew up, followed closely the marriage customs which made Mary fruitful. The marriage customs of the Eastern Church would have left her barren.

complete. The Church gave its brides, in the fifth century, to the cloister and dedicated virgins to sterility; in the fifteenth century, to a husband and consecrated chastity to fruitfulness. The reformation was accomplished only in the Western Church, and not in the Eastern. In the Western Church, it followed the barbarian invasion; began only in the tenth century when the barbarian conquest was complete; was first promoted by the barbarian custom of the morning-gift, or public acknowledgment and reward for virginity dedicated to fruitfulness; next by images of the Virgin Mother; and resulted in religious or "holy" matrimony. Each of these is peculiar to Western Christendom, and each followed the barbarian inundation. Together they reversed the selection of motherhood in the West. From the year one thousand the adverse selection of six centuries changed, slowly, but with mathematical certainty, to a favorable selection.

99. During the period from the tenth to the sixteenth century, all Western Europe was in some degree affected by these new factors in the selection of mothers: the morning-gift; the worship of the Virgin Mother; and the religious solemnization of "holy" matrimony. If the advance of civilization during this period is attributable to these factors, the following mathematical results might be expected:

I. The advance would not be limited to a single nation, nor confined within limited geographical boundaries. It would be in some degree common to all Western Christendom.

II. As the first of these factors in point of time—morning-gift—affected only those classes having property, the rise of that class would occur first.

III. Two of these factors—morning-gift, and marriage—affect only freemen, and not serfs. Serfs were without property, and were under legal disabilities as to marriage. The only improving factor left to the lowest classes of society was the worship of the Virgin Mother. Hence improvement, not dividing on geographical lines, should divide on class

lines, and the posterity of rich and free-men should improve earlier than the posterity of poor and bond-men.[1]

History confirms these mathematical expectations. Charlemagne's empire marked the universal weakness of his Christian opponents before the tenth century. After that century, there is not again seen in Western Christendom the extinction of a whole people so that a conquering race attaches its name to its defeated enemy's land. England, France, Lombardy, Andalusia, Normandy, preserve to this day the record of such changes before the tenth century. Eastern Christendom suffered, as late as the fifteenth century, a like extinction, still recorded in the name Turkey. But after the tenth century there is no similar record in the West. It is apparent that the rise of Christian civilization was common to all nations, races, and languages of Western Europe.

100. The factor first in point of time to begin the improvement of Western Christendom was the morning-gift. This is traceable as early as the tenth century; whereas the first paintings and sculpture of the virgin Mother were not until the thirteenth century, and the Church did not join man and wife in "holy" matrimony until probably the fourteenth or late in the thirteenth. Posterity's improvement ought, therefore, first to be noticeable in the descendants of that aristocratic class of society, where the morning-gift always followed the marriage of a virgin, proclaiming and rewarding the purity of the bride whose chastity was dedicated by wedlock to fruitfulness. History furnishes evidence that this is where improvement first occurred. The morning-gift was a Teutonic custom. The most brilliant and valiant Christians of the tenth century were German princes, Henry the Fowler, and Otto the Great, his son. They with their German knights stopped the incursions of

[1] During the first three centuries, when the Christian was superior to the pagan selection of mothers, the order of spiritual improvement was just the reverse. The poor, enslaved, and despised, being Christians, rose; the rich, the free and the powerful, being pagans, declined.

the Magyars which threatened Christianity in the tenth century, as Charles Martel had stopped the Moslems in the eighth. They conquered Italy, revived the name of Holy Roman Empire, and were crowned at Rome. Italy was for two centuries overrun by German conquests and torn between rival German lords. And in Northern Italy the morning-gift became a firmly established custom in noble houses. It was here that the Renaissance began.

Additional evidence is to be found in the rise of brilliant aristocrats in the thirteenth century.

"It was an age of great rulers. Indeed, we may doubt if any hundred years of European history has been so crowded with great statesmen and kings. In England Stephen Langton and the authors of our Great Charter in 1215; William, Earl Mareschal, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and above all Edward I, great as soldier, as ruler, as legislator—as great when he yielded as when he compelled. In France, Philip Augustus, a king curiously like our Edward I in his virtues as in his faults though earlier by three generations; Blanche, his son's wife, Regent of France. St. Louis, her son, and St. Louis' grandson, the terrible, fierce, subtle, and adroit Philip the Fair. Then on the throne of the Empire, from 1220 to 1250, Frederick II, 'the world's wonder,' one of the most brilliant characters of the Middle Ages, whose life is a long romance, whose many-sided endowments seemed to promise everything but real greatness and abiding results. Next, after a generation, his successor, less brilliant but far more truly great, Rudolph of Hapsburg, emperor from 1273 to 1291, the founder of the Austrian dynasty, the ancestor of its sovereigns, the parallel, I had almost said the equal of our own Edward I. In Spain, Ferdinand III and his son Alfonso X, whose reigns united gave Spain peace and prosperity for fifty-four years (1230–1284)." (Frederic Harrison, *A Survey of the Thirteenth Century.*)

In the three centuries preceding these brilliant men there were no great cities in Western Christendom. Outside the Christian city of Constantinople, the large towns of this period were all Moslem. There was little Christian commerce, no wealth but land and no bourgeois. The ancestral selection which created these brilliant nobles and

princes was not aided by education or schools of learning; nor by improvement in the Church, which during this period was declining; nor did they share their improvement with the peasantry or serfs, who during all this time were grievously oppressed. In respect that it reverses the earlier instances of the decline of barbarian stocks after their conversion to Christianity; and in respect that it runs counter to the Christian masses of this period; the improvement of the aristocratic order from the tenth to the thirteenth century is unique. From the fifth century to the tenth, history records a common decay of Christian empires after their conversion. Vandals, Goths, Lombards, and Anglo-Saxon alike, declined; so did the Franks after they became devout. Genseric, Theodoric, Charlemagne did not repeat. From the tenth century to the thirteenth, there were two examples of Northern stocks, newly Christianized, displaying brilliant aristocratic genius three centuries apart: in Germany, Henry and Otto in the tenth century, Frederick II and Rudolph of Hapsburg in the thirteenth; in Norman and English stock, Robert and William in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Richard and Edward in the thirteenth. The unique factor which accounts for this reversal of historical example is the morning-gift.

101. The improvement of the noble classes, noticeable from the tenth to the thirteenth century, continued without interruption to the sixteenth. Those aristocratic customs which selected brides, regardless of their own consent, for indissoluble monogamous marriage, continued for many generations to impress maternity upon cold women of the upper classes.[1] The result was a notable increase in the sexual morals of this class, in their piety, and in their learning.

[1] "In history as in the epics, the girls were all married young, willingly or unwillingly, and widows were not left time to weep for their husbands, inasmuch as it was imperative that the fief should be managed by a man; so that in those feudal amours sentiment had no part." (Luchaire, *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus*, Chap. XI.)

"The 'chansons de geste' generally present the married woman as virtuous, very attached, and devoted to her husband: From which it must be concluded that adultery was uncommon in the feudal world." (Luchaire, *Ibid.*, Chap. XI.)

Froissart relates the story of the visit in 1342 of Edward III to the Countess of Salisbury, "the most sagest and fayrest lady of all England," and of her chastity and wit. From this visit and in remembrance of the purity of his hostess, the Order of the Garter was instituted. The plebeian matrons of Rome exalted wifely chastity, and they erected an altar to the plebeian Pudicitia three hundred years B.C. The Order of the Garter, sixteen centuries later exalted the same quality of wifely modesty. It is interesting to observe, both in the rise of the plebeian group at Rome, and the noble group in England, evidence of like causes having like effect on both groups.

The augmented nervous organization of the nobility following a favorable selection of mothers is notable. In an earlier age, learning was despised:

> "Thanks to St. Bothwell, son of mine,
> Save Gawain ne'er could pen a line."

Said old Lord Douglas.

The rowdy baron of the thirteenth century gradually changed to the pious, refined, and sometimes even learned nobleman of the sixteenth. Here is Erasmus' description of noble manners in his day.

"Oh, strange vicissitudes of human things," exclaims he. "Heretofore the heart of learning was among such as professed religion. Now, while they for the most part give themselves up, *ventri luxui pecuniaeque*, the love of learning is gone from them to secular princes, the court and the nobility. May we not justly be ashamed of ourselves? The feasts of priests and divines are drowned in wine, are

filled with scurrilous jests, sound with intemperate noise and tumult, flow with spiteful slanders and defamation of others; while at princes' tables modest disputations are held concerning things which make for learning and piety." (Froude, *History of England*, Chap. I.)

102. The landless agricultural class was least and last affected by the three factors which raised the Christian spirit in Western Europe after the tenth century. The worship of the Virgin Mother might teach them, as well as all other classes of society, that the world's salvation came from virgin purity, made fruitful rather than sterile; but for some centuries this was the only one of these three factors which affected the poor. The morning-gift, a custom of nobles and free-men, could not become a custom of the poorest class who were without property to endow their virgin brides. Peasant marriage was seldom anything but a voluntary union of man and woman. It was not a transfer of property or muniment of title to land, for this class had neither property, nor lands. It is certain that among the poor, marriage was often preceded by cohabitation, sometimes by the birth of children. The nuptial ceremony was of the very slightest character, and was wholly pagan. In Northern Europe "handfasting" was the common form of wedlock for the common people. It was not a religious ceremony and it was seldom treated as indissoluble. As late as the eighteenth century, it was still believed by the common people of England, that a man might divorce his wife by putting a halter around her neck, and selling her to another; and such divorces from time to time, in fact, took place.[1]

"Holy" matrimony, or the ideal of marriage as a religious sacrament indissolubly uniting husband and wife, did not, in general, reach the lowest classes of Europe until after

[1] "A remarkable superstition still prevails among the lowest of our vulgar, that a man may lawfully sell his wife to another, provided he deliver her over with a halter about her neck. It is painful to observe that instances of this frequently occur in our newspapers." (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*. Tit: "Ring and Bridecake." Vol. II.)

the Reformation, and after the landless laborer changed from a serf to a wage-earner. Serfs in general were under a legal disability as to marriage; although this must be taken to mean religious marriage. Pagan marriage customs, which were little more than voluntary cohabitation, were still followed. There is no description of peasants or serfs that does not acknowledge the existence of the relation of husband and wife, parent and child. Authors, therefore, who speak of "legal disability of marrying" among serfs must be understood as intending marriage as an indissoluble religious sacrament. Undoubtedly the peasants married; but peasant marriage was a very different institution from religious marriage, or from the marriages of nobles or freemen.[1]

103. It would be expected then that between nobles and freemen, whose marriage customs impressed maternity upon cold women, and peasants, whose marriage was simply the voluntary cohabitation of man and woman, there would be a marked difference of sexual morals; and that the improvement of posterity would be noticed last of all in the peasant group. The evidence accords with the expectation. A low class of serf or villein was called boor or "bordar." His hut or dwelling was a "bordel." In literature as early as 1305, in common speech certainly much earlier, "bordel" came to mean a house of harlots. The first literary reference to it found by the New English Dictionary is in 1305. It is then and was afterward continuously used as synonymous with brothel, until that became finally its sole signification, and its earlier meaning as the dwelling of a serf was quite forgotten.

[1] "Finally, if the peasant was a serf—and he usually was in most of the French provinces at the beginning of the thirteenth century,—to all this there must be added the shame of servitude, which is an hereditary blemish; the odious and humiliating exactions, the legal disability of marrying, of moving about, and of making wills; and even then we have an inadequate idea of the complexity of the misfortunes and the miseries in which the peasants struggled." (Luchaire, *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus*, Chap. XIII.)

"There is an interesting passage in the treatise of the abbott of Aumone, Philip of Harvengt, on the continence of clerics in which he states the following fact:

'Last year several of our brothers were sent to certain parts of Flanders to attend to some of the business of our church. It was in summer. They saw most of the peasants walking about in the streets and on the squares of villages without a bit of clothing, not even trousers, in order to keep cool; thus naked they attended to their business not in the least disturbed at the glances of passersby nor by the prohibitions of their mayors. When our brothers indignantly asked them why they went thus naked like animals they answered: 'What business is it of yours? You do not make laws for us?'" (Luchaire, supra, Chap. XIII.)

The difference between villain and burgher is also interesting. Early in the Middle Ages, after the Teutonic invasion of the Roman empire, *bourg* was a fortified place, a walled town; one who dwelt there was a *burgher* or *bourgeois*. An unfortified dwelling in the open country was a *villa;* one who dwelt there a *villain*. In the beginning therefore these terms had no other meaning than as a designation of *locale*. In the course of centuries, the burgher or citizen—one who dwelt in a city—came to have associations very different from villain—one who dwelt in the country. The former might be looked down upon by princes and nobles, but he fought for his rights, won a large measure of liberty, and "stout burghers," "free citizens," are common phrases in history. Villain, however, originally descriptive simply of one who dwelt and labored in the fields or villages, became finally associated with wickedness. Villain and villainous were terms of strong reproach. It is evident that instead of an improvement of posterity in this class, there was a deterioration; and that while first the aristocracy, and afterward the merchants and burghers, were affected by improving factors, these did not reach the landless agricultural class until long afterward. From the Middle Ages to the beginning of the nineteenth century, this class remained nearly the same. The author of *Helène et Ganymede*, a Latin poem of the

twelfth century, speaks of the peasant of his time as only a species of cattle—"*rustici qui pecudes possunt appelari.*"[1]

La Bruyère's description of the French peasant at the end of the seventeenth century is well known.

"Certain wild animals, male and female, are scattered over the country, dark, livid, and quite tanned by the sun, who are chained, as it were, to the land they are always digging and turning up and down with an unwearied stubbornness; their voice is somewhat articulate, and when they stand erect they discover a human face and, indeed, are men. At night they retire to their dens, where they live on black bread, water, and roots; they spare other men the trouble of sowing, tilling the ground, and reaping for their sustenance, and therefore deserve not to be in want of that bread they sow themselves." (Jean de La Bruyère, *Characters*, XII, 128.)

The following description of the peasant in the old romance of *Aucassin et Nicolette* would serve equally well to describe Millet's painting "The Man with the Hoe" in the nineteenth century.

"He was large and marvelously ugly and hideous. He had a huge head, blacker than coal, the space of a palm between his eyes, large cheeks, a great flat nose, large lips redder than live coals, long, hideous, and yellow teeth. His clothing and shoes were of cowhide, and a large cape enveloped him. He leaned on a great club."

104. Thus, the evidence is that for many centuries after the perceptible improvement of other classes of society, the landless agricultural peasant continued to mate and

[1] The lowest classes of mankind, those who mate naturally and unceremoniously like animals, have in all ages been called by the chaster classes by the names of beasts. Livy supposes Larentia, who nursed Romulus and Remus, had got the nickname "She-Wolf" from her unchaste habits. In the seventeenth and eigtheenth centuries, before drink, freedom, and religion had sifted and improved their character, English servant girls were often called by their mistresses "slut" and this word is familiar to readers of that period of English literature. "Hind" was likewise a common name for the English peasant. In America the same custom is still found in the phrase "buck nigger."

breed naturally like the beasts of the field, through the voluntary cohabitation of male and female. Wedlock was not influenced by considerations of property or gain; the bride was neither sold nor endowed. When a girl reached the age, mating and motherhood came to her quite as naturally as to a heifer, and she bore children for the same reason that a cow has calves. Marriage was not a religious ordinance, nor a title to property, nor indissoluble, nor the dedication of a virgin to fruitfulness, nor the ceremonial of compulsory motherhood. The moral and social condition of the peasants correspond. Their dwelling was in common speech the abode of harlots, they went about in warm weather naked, their name of villain became synonymous with wickedness, and for many centuries during the rise of civilization, their posterity did not improve. They labored in the fields, poor, despised, and oppressed. It is sometimes supposed that they were degraded because they were oppressed; the evidence, however, supports the conclusion that they were oppressed because they were degraded. A like group was found and studied in America in the nineteenth century by Robert L. Dugdale, who wrote an account of them under the name of *The Jukes.* In America, land was to be had by simply settling upon it; there was no rent to pay, and hardly any taxes. Feudal exactions did not exist, and never had existed. The "Jukes" took up land, built their dwellings, and enjoyed the perfect freedom of a Republic, without princes or aristocracy.

"Most of the ancestors were squatters upon the soil, and in some instances have become owners by tax-title or by occupancy. They lived in log or stone houses similar to slave-hovels, all ages, sexes, relations and strangers "bunking" indiscriminately. One form of this bunking has been described to me. During the winter the inmates lie on the floor strewn with straw or rushes like so many radii to the hearth, the embers of the fire forming a centre toward which their feet focus for warmth. This proximity, where not producing illicit relations, must often have evolved an atmosphere of suggestiveness fatal to habits of chastity. To this

day some of the "Jukes" occupy the self-same shanties built nearly a century ago. The essential features of the habitat have remained stationary, and the social habits seem to survive in conformity to the persistence of the domiciliary environment. I have seen rude shelters made of boughs covered with sod, or the refuse slabs of sawmills set slanting against ledges of rock and used in the summer as abodes, the occupants bivouacking much as gypsies. Others of the habitations have two rooms, but so firmly has habit established modes of living, that, nevertheless, they often use but one congregate dormitory. Sometimes I found an over-crowding so close it suggested that these dwellings were the country equivalents of city tenement houses. Domesticity is impossible. The older girls, finding no privacy within a home overrun with younger brothers and sisters, purchase privacy at the risk of prudence, and the night rambles through woods and tangles end, too often, in illegitimate offspring. (Dugdale, *The Jukes*, pp. 13–14.)

Fifty-two percent of their women are harlots in some degree (p. 68). Here is found in America, without any feudal oppression, almost without taxation, a group exhibiting the same sexual morals as the mediæval serfs who gave to the words "villain" and "bordel" their sinister significations.

In free America, in the nineteenth century, the results were precisely similar to those of feudal Europe in the thirteenth.

"These six persons belonged to a long lineage reaching back to the early colonists, and had intermarried so slightly with the emigrant population of the old world that they may be called a strictly American family. They had lived in the same locality for generations, and were so despised by the reputable community that their family name *had come to be used generically as a term of reproach.*" (*Ibid.*, p. 8.)

Large populations in America, where the sexes mated voluntarily and loosely, have been designated by terms, which in their own neighborhood, have been accepted as terms of reproach. Such are the "Jackson Whites" of New York State; the "Pineys" of New Jersey; the "Poor White Trash," "Crackers," and "Hill Billies" of various southern

states. Even where sexual immorality has not been prevalent, the voluntary mating of both sexes, simply from desire, and without property or other considerations, especially where the standard of living is low, and easily attained, has been accompanied by persistent mental backwardness. The kindest descriptions of the Appalachian mountaineers call them "our Elizabethan contemporaries," indicating, (and with reason) that, for three centuries, they have stood still. All these groups of backward Americans have enjoyed, since their settlement in America, complete freedom from any of the oppression which is usually alleged as the cause of the backwardness of the European landless serf. Up to 1860, the American scale of state and national government expenditure was so economical that the small squatter was taxed hardly at all. He paid no rent. Besides the actual possession and enjoyment of free land, industry and enterprise would have made accessible to him enormous natural wealth—such riches as seem almost limitless. All that he had, and all that he might have had in America, changed him in only one respect. He did not grow rich; he did not grow cultured; he did not display genius, subdue the wilderness, or build a civilization; he did not rise in the mental, or spiritual, or social scale. When all around him were advancing, he hung back, contributing to civilization nothing, and hardly using the contributions of others. Exactions had forced the European serf to ceaseless industry and thrift. Freed from exactions, his American counterpart became idle and lazy. That was the only change. Improvement begins when capital, wages, and the factory system introduce selective factors other than fecundity.[1]

[1] Olmsted thus describes the white inhabitants of the turpentine forests of North Carolina as they appeared in 1855:

"A family of these people will commonly hire, or 'squat' and build a little log cabin, so made that it is only a shelter from rain, the sides not being chinked, and having no more furniture or pretension to comfort than is commonly provided a criminal in the cell of a prison. They will cultivate a little corn, and possibly a few roods of potatoes, cow-peas and coleworts. They will own a few swine, that find their living in the

105. The rise of Order in society, and the view universally accepted, for many centuries, as to the superiority of the upper over the lower orders, is easily accounted for on the evidence of history. In all parts of the earth, among all races, and at all times, if there were found a group which impressed maternity upon its cold women it advanced and improved. If such a group had near neighbors whose marriage customs were looser, and who mated voluntarily, so that only ardent women were mothers, then invariably it would be found that this first group became an aristocracy wielding moral and material power over the more numerous, more prolific, and poorer neighbors whom they oppressed, despised, enslaved, and ruled. In this aristocratic group the women unquestionably were very strictly ruled by their fathers and their husbands; but nevertheless, they looked down upon looser women, who mated and bore offspring at will, just as their sons looked down upon and ruled those offspring. This phenomenon has been repeated as often as mankind has advanced towards civilization.

"And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?" (Genesis, XXVII, 46.)

---

forest; and pretty certainly, also, a rifle and dogs; and the men, ostensibly, occupy most of their time in hunting.

"A gentleman of Fayetteville told me that he had, several times appraised, under oath, the whole household property of families of this class at less than $20. If they have need of money to purchase clothing, etc., they obtain it by selling their game or meal. If they have none of this to spare, or an insufficiency, they will work for a neighboring farmer for a few days, and they usually get for their labor fifty cents a day, *finding themselves*. The farmers say that they do not like to employ them, because they cannot be relied upon to finish what they undertake, or to work according to direction; and because, being white men, they cannot "drive" them. That is to say, their labor is even more inefficient and unmanageable than that of slaves." *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1855) Chap. V.

These descendants of the white races of Northern Europe occupied a

So Penelope must have felt towards the nymphs and their offspring who wandered the country in Bacchus' train. So, undoubtedly, felt a stern Roman matron of the patrician order towards women and their offspring of the proletariat. So, doubtless, felt plebeian matrons, after aristocratic marriage customs had raised them to power, towards the Greek and Syrian women who flocked to Rome when the former plebeians began to rule. So, undoubtedly felt the chaste Countess of Salisbury towards that order of society whose dwelling place was, in her century, known as a house of harlots. In America, in the nineteenth century, respectable women, descended from stricter marriage customs, looked down with loathing and contempt upon the "Jukes."

In all these centuries, nothing was changed but the numerical proportions of the different classes. If everything else is equal, and fecundity is the chief factor of survival, posterity will descend from the most prolific women. If the importance of fecundity diminishes, and other factors, industry, thrift, sobriety, energy, and intelligence increase, posterity no longer descends only from the most prolific, but descends partly from those possessed of these other qualities. This change may take place in groups, regardless of their previous condition, or present wealth, or poverty. A poor and plebeian group may, for this cause, overtake and displace one rich and aristocratic. This occurred in pagan

---

free country where they were not oppressed by feudal exactions or impoverished by landlordism, capitalism or "unearned increment." They paid no rent and almost no taxes. They tilled a virgin soil and they were suffered to retain the entire product of their own labor. Yet they produced so little, although they consumed almost nothing, that the entire wealth acquired and accumulated by the labor of generations amounted to no more than twenty dollars. Those who suppose that all wealth is the product of labor will do well to ponder these facts. This American example illustrates again the truth taught by the history of every race and of every age, viz.: that wealth is produced by augmented nervous organizations. The same land that is desperately poor when inhabited by lower nervous organizations becomes rich when it is inhabited by higher nervous organizations and poor again when their nervous organizations decline. No other economic truth is more stable than this.

Rome when the plebeians ousted the old patrician order; again in the Christian empire during the first three centuries, when the Christians rose to power and ousted their pagan oppressors; and for the third time, in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, when the common people of France overcame the hereditary aristocratic order. Each time that this took place it was due to the adoption by the poorer, but rising, group of those marriage customs which impress maternity upon their colder women. If, at the same time, the rich and aristocratic group indulged a sexual laxity which enabled their cold women to escape maternity, their eclipse was as complete as that in both the Roman examples given above. If the marriage customs of both groups were amalgamated and became the same, the result was not an eclipse of the first by the second, but an equality between the two groups, such as exists at present in England and America. It is noticeable, also, that any part of the plebeian group which failed to adopt those marriage customs which improved the selection of mothers, did not advance with the rest. They stayed behind, like the "Jukes" and "Crackers"; and, in a generation or so, the group of improving plebeians looked down upon them with aristocratic contempt.[1]

[1] Contemporaneous views of "democracy" are always founded upon the numerical proportion which the group of prolific women of loose sexual morals bears to the population as a whole. Where this group is as small as the "Jukes" in nineteenth century America, and strict marriage customs are general throughout the mass of the population, there will arise a general belief in the advantages of democracy, which it is considered unreasonable and almost impious to question. But it is necessary to go back only a few centuries in the history of the same English speaking race to find these numerical proportions reversed. The "Jukes" greatly outnumber the moral, industrious and provident classes of the population. Accordingly in that age there was the same unquestionable belief in the advantages of government by quality instead of numbers. The same changes are observable in Greece and Rome. Men who look neither backward nor forward, but view society only as a plane of two dimensions, must derive their views only from the plane they see, i.e., their own contemporaries.

106. From the tenth century to the thirteenth, the social classifications of Western Christendom must be viewed solely in their relation to the soil. There were no large towns, no factories, no artisans, no industries where wealth was produced on a scale sufficient to offer daily support, and inheritable accumulation, to any large number of landless persons. There was little commerce, and most of this was through the Mediterranean ports of Venice and Genoa. Trade with the South was not alone in the products peculiar to a southern climate, but included manufactured goods, for which rustic Christendom was dependent upon urban Islam. Damascus steel, Toledo blades, Morocco leather, and various other names of this period testify to the Moslem monopoly in skilled manufactures.[1]

Some allodial tenures existed in Provence, and doubtless in parts of Spain. Languedoc was not yet a part of France. But for most of feudal Europe at this period the classifications of society, and their relation to the soil, were simple. There were two classes. Prolific *villeins* who worked and tilled the soil, and the nobles, landlords, or seigniors who owned it.

In the thirteenth century there began the rise of large towns, factories, industries, and commerce, and the various elements of urban activity that bring bread to a multitude which has neither sown nor reaped.[2] A new class of society

[1] As late as the seventeenth century Myles Standish fought the savages in the Massachusetts wilderness,

"Clad in doublet and hose, and boots of Cordovan leather,
Cutlass and corselet of steel, and his trusty sword of Damascus."
(Longfellow, *The Courtship of Myles Standish.*)

[2] "It was the thirteenth century, moreover, that saw the great development of the manufacturing and trading cities north of the Alps. Down to the expulsion of the Christians from Palestine, at the close of the twelfth century, there had been few cities in Europe of wealth and importance outside Italy and the South of France and of Spain. But the next hundred years founded the greatness of cities like Paris and London, of Troyes, Rouen, Lyons, Bordeaux, Bruges, Ghent, Cologne, Strasburg, Basle, Nuremberg, Bremen, Lubeck, Hamburg, Dantzic, Winchester, Norwich, Exeter, Bristol. The Crusades had brought Europe

came into being, different from both the existing classes, because:

a. It had no relation with the soil, except as the purchaser or consumer of food;

b. As it was severed from the soil, it had no inherited source of food. It could not produce bread. To live, it had to buy or exchange something for it.

c. It had no inherited wealth, but was obliged to find or to create and to accumulate whatever it transmitted to its descendants.

d. Since it did not till the soil, it resembled the old aristocratic class. But the aristocrats owned the soil, and compelled their serfs to till it; the new class owned neither soil nor serfs.

e. As it was without land, and must labor to live, it resembled the landless serfs. But, again, the serfs were chained to the soil and, to get bread, were obliged to till it; the new class was free and might get bread by purchase or exchange.

107. Here then was a "middle class"—something between the noble and the serf, and sharing in some degree the advantages and disadvantages of both those classes. Moreover it was recruited from both. Enterprising and energetic peasants, escaping their bondage, began, at this time, to forsake agriculture for industry and commerce.

"The fugitive bondsmen found freedom in a flight to chartered towns, where a residence during a year and a day conferred franchise." (Green, *Short History of the English People*, Chap. V, Sec. IV.)

Luchaire quotes from the lay, *Aiol:*

---

together, and had brought the West face to face with the East. Mankind had ceased to be *ascriptus glebæ*, locally bound to a few clearings on the earth. It had begun to understand the breadth and variety of the planet, and the infinite resources of its products. Industrial exchange on a world-wide scale began again after a long interval of ten centuries." (Frederick Harrison, *A Survey of the Thirteenth Century.*)

"Dame Hersent, wife of a butcher of Orleans, a woman with a large paunch, was a slanderer. Both were natives of Burgundy. When they came to the great city of Orleans they did not have five sous. They were wretched, begging, weeping, dying of hunger; but by their thrift, they profited so much through usury that in five years they had amassed a fortune. They had two-thirds of the town under mortgage; everywhere they purchased ovens and mills, and displaced honest men." (Luchaire, *Social France in the Reign of Philip Augustus*, Chap. XIII.)

This is one of the earliest accounts of the rise, and complaints of the greed, of capitalists. In this early period, burghers or townsmen were esteemed little better than serfs. "In the eyes of the lords, a burgher could only be a drunkard, a thief, and a usurer." Beginning as the moral and social equal of the *villein*, it is plain that the burghers persistently improved, while the *villein* did not.

After a while, the towns were not recruited from the peasant class alone. The law of primogeniture left the landed inheritance of the nobles to the eldest son. Younger brothers and younger sons of younger brothers were left in the anomalous position of the "middle class," i.e., they were without any relation to the soil. They neither owned land nor did they till it. They were neither seigniors, nor serfs. Many of them became professional fighting men, knights at arms, taking service under the best bidder. The Church received noble descendants of both sexes. But, after the thirteenth century, some proportion of landless men and women of noble descent inevitably went to the towns. The "middle class" became truly a middle class between the noble and the serf. It received recruits from both the other classes and both in turn recruited from it. Burghers who were pressed by poverty perished or returned to agriculture and became peasants. Burghers as they rose to wealth acquired lands, seigniories and fiefs.

The wealthy nobility of Venice, composed of successful merchants and adventurers, was already the oldest in Europe. After the tenth century, great merchants in other

Italian cities acquired a wealth and power which enabled them to treat with sovereigns on equal terms, to marry their daughters to the proudest of the territorial nobility, and, themselves, to maintain a state and magnificence celebrated throughout Europe. By the sixteenth century, the burghers in the Netherlands were a sovereign power, making war, alliances, and peace. In England, in this century, Sir Thomas Kitson "mercer of London," built the magnificent Hengrave Hall, in Suffolk, and he "was one of many of the rising merchants who were now able to root themselves on the land by the side of the Norman nobility, first to rival and then slowly to displace them." (Froude's *History of England*, Vol. I, Chap. I.)

108. The rise of the towns, and of a middle class which had no relations to the soil, had certain marked results:

A. In the towns themselves a considerable premium was put upon brains. With the two classes which had relations to the soil, the chief factor in livelihood was their status. If the landlord owned much soil, he was well fed, whether he had brains or not. The serf who suffered heavy feudal exactions, or paid heavy rents or taxes, was poor because of his status as a serf. The mental qualities of the landlord or of the serf had little to do with their respective comforts in life as individuals or with the survival of their groups.

In the towns, conditions were quite different. No one owned the soil, tilled it, sowed or reaped; yet certain townsmen were rich, well fed, well housed, comfortable, envied, and treated with respect; while others were poor, hungry, squalid, miserable, dirty, and reduced to beggary. Between the two extremes a large and everchanging number filled all the gradations of human condition from wealth to want. The noticeable difference between the social condition of this "middle class" and of the two classes which preceded it, was that nobles and serfs inherited their status; whereas the middle class, after the rise of towns in the thirteenth century, inherited no status at all. Each group of the middle class found its own level. Its resemblance to the older classes

was in this: that just as nobles tended to inter-marry, and serfs tended to inter-marry, so each group of the middle class tended to marry within itself. The wealthy middle class did not marry with the poor middle class, or vice versa.

B. The rise of towns had, likewise, a marked effect on the landless agricultural class. The number of persons increased who were obliged to obtain bread by exchange, and not by labor. Agricultural produce began to have a "price." As long as human society was composed only of two classes, those who owned the soil and those who tilled it, the produce of the soil was not a saleable commodity. The serfs were bound to cultivate the lord's fields, to garner the lord's grain, and to perform other base services. The distinction grew up between base service, and knight service, the former meaning the labor done by serfs, and the latter the service done by knights. Under this feudal arrangement no money passed at all. Food was grown and eaten, but was not bought and sold.

When the towns made a market for agricultural produce, it was possible for a new relation to grow up between landlord and serf. No matter how small the price was, the serf who could get money for his fowls, or bacon, or bullocks, or grain, was in a position to drive a bargain. If he worked hard, denied himself, got all the money he could, spent none of it, saved and skimped, he was able to pay his landlord a money rent, instead of performing base service on his lord's lands. With a fixed money rent, his condition might improve. While there were only two classes of society, the serfs could never grow "rich." Everything that the serf had was perishable; nothing had a money value; any increase in his crops or live-stock could not escape the landlord's eye; and his obligation to do base service was perennial. This third and landless class of society, which created for the serfs a "market" for their animals and grain, and paid money for food, gave to the individual serf, and especially to every improving group of serfs, a sure emancipa-

tion. They could sell their produce in the market, money could be hidden and accumulated. Landlords were extravagant, unthrifty, avaricious, and always needing money. To accumulate money, and to make a bargain with the landlord, were the opportunities now offered the serf to better his condition. Life, which for him had been only labor, had become partly labor and partly contracts. He made contracts of sale with the townsmen; his relations to his landlord were changed from status to contract; and if his output in money were something less than his income, he began, for the first time, to experience that which never existed under the simple classification of feudal society—profit.[1]

109. The changes from the earlier and simple classification of society into landlords and serfs, wrought in society by the rise of the towns, and which are in evidence in the sixteenth century, are, therefore, these:

The formation of:

I. A landlord class, partly inheriting its lands from the old nobility, partly recruited from the new wealth acquired by burghers, letting its lands for a money rent, instead of for the knight service and base service of feudal times;

II. A yeomanry, having no lands of its own, but renting from the landlord for a money rent, and freed of villeinage, serfdom, or base service. This class was descended from serfs who rose to freemen;

III. Townsmen who had left the soil to engage in trade and industry;

IV. A class of agricultural laborers still leading a life not very different from serfdom. They worked for a bare existence, whether paid in wages or in kind, and, if not chained to the soil, at least they did not leave it.

The first three of these classes were continuously recruited from the fourth. Every laborer's son of unusual ability, enterprise, or ambition, ran away from the soil to seek his fortune at sea, in arms, or in the towns. The result was that the upper class were necessarily and continuously

[1] The change is described and dated by Green, Chap. V, Sect. IV.

recruited from the best individuals of the lowest class; and of that class there remains on the soil only an average which is kept low by perennial skimming. The so-called "middle class" received in the first instance all these recruits; as it received also recruits from the landlord class. In the towns, all these newcomers from above and from below, were again impartially sifted by temptation and competition for qualities which enabled them to survive. The "middle class," therefore, constituted a peculiar and everchanging group, always losing its most successful members as they were translated into landlords and nobles, while, at the same time, it continuously received the younger sons of this upper class, and all the more enterprising members of the lower class.

This group, however, was not greatly changed by its recruits. It extended to them no helping hand, but bade each to struggle for himself; and most failed. The survivors increased its number without changing its character. Beginning in the thirteenth century, without customs, traditions, or wealth, the "middle class" gradually acquired all three. In the period before the thirteenth century, the brilliant figures of European history appeared only among the landowners—the nobles, seigniors, and holders of fiefs. After the thirteenth century, this was no longer true. The rise of learning, freedom, industry, discovery, exploration, commerce, and wealth, was due, as might be expected, to that class which, having created the towns and cities of western Europe, received, tested, and absorbed the restless descendants of the classes which inherited relations with the soil.

CHAPTER XI

MODERN CIVILIZATION FROM THE 16TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY

110. When in the fifteenth century, Constantinople was taken by the Turks, there was extinguished the last group of Christians who could claim a continuous and uninterrupted Christian worship from the fourth century. Every other land or city (including Rome itself) which had been Christian in that century, had since been invaded and repeopled once or more—its blood, language, and customs, the names of its rivers, lakes, seas, and hills, completely changed. It has been pointed out that the rise of civilization up to the fifteenth century, followed geographical lines. Civilization rose in the Western Church, where the complete change and repeopling of lands took place, and did not rise in the Eastern Church. After the fall of Constantinople, a like geographical division may still be observed. The largest body of Christians still adhering to the Greek Church were the vast population of Russia. This body of Christians, adhering to the ancient calendar, untouched by the Teutonic invasion, and insensible of the heresies, religious wars, and Reformation of the Western Church, remained as backward as before. The Tartar inundation receded, leaving their Christian worship for three centuries undisturbed. But the Russian Church continued unreformed; the Russian Christians still worshipped images.

The sixteenth century, then, did not change the geographical lines which marked the rise of civilization between the Western and the Eastern Church. But new geographical divisions began in the west. The Reformation divided western Christianity. Where it succeeded, religious sterilization

and the worship of images ceased. Where it failed, they continued.

It is desirable to set down certain aspects of the Reformation, for the better understanding both of its causes and of its effects.

In respect to its timeliness, it may be observed that it was the fourth considerable revolt against the Roman papacy, but the first to achieve permanent success over several extensive states. There had been earlier revolts of the Albigenses in Languedoc in the twelfth century; of the Hussites in Bohemia in the fourteenth century; and of Wyclif and the Lollards in England in the same century. Each of these was stamped out. The first utterly; the Hussites effectually; the Lollards only superficially, for Lollardism continued in some degree till England became Protestant. The failures of Huss and Wyclif in the fourteenth century, and the success of Luther in the sixteenth, can hardly be attributed to the superiority of the leadership of the latter. In comparison with his predecessors he was not a superior man. There is great reason, however, to attribute Luther's success to a marked change in Christian society itself, accomplished between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century. In this period, six more generations had felt the cumulative effect of a favorable selection of mothers, through the morning-gift, the worship of the Virgin Mother and the sacrament of "holy" matrimony. The rise of towns had produced that "middle class" which, having no inheritable relation with the soil, was obliged by trade and commerce (that is by contracts) to obtain its bread. When Huss and Wyclif preached, this class was extremely small. When Luther preached, its numbers had greatly increased. In the fourteenth century, it was but newly recruited from the serfs. By the sixteenth century, some of its membership had been improved by two centuries of selective influences highly favorable to the reproduction of cold women. The Reformation of the sixteenth century, therefore, was certainly aided, probably caused, by timely influences.

It did not occur until after the Western Church had recognized and proclaimed "holy" matrimony as a sacrament.

It did not occur until after the rise of towns had created a numerous and influential "middle class" of western Christians.

It was most successful in the lands and peoples which were Christianized last of all; whose superior pagan marriage customs had been least impaired by the religious sterilization of the early Church; who had long practiced the Teutonic custom of morning-gift; and who had a considerable urban population.

III. Evidence of the foregoing may be found in the fact that the Reformation failed in Ireland and Poland—where there were few towns, and the population was composed chiefly of landlords and serfs; and where Teutonic invasion never imposed Teutonic customs. It failed in Spain, where large cities had been Moslem and had been ruined by the expulsion of the Moors; where, likewise, there had not been Teutonic invasion since those of the Suevi and the Vandals, and where Teutonic custom was unknown. It failed in Italy, where the towns had begun to decay, and where there were strong selfish motives for preserving the power, authority, and wealth of the Roman Church.

On the other hand, the Reformation succeeded in the Scandinavian countries, Christianized in comparatively recent centuries, and whose pagan marriage customs had enforced a favorable selection of mothers. It succeeded brilliantly in the Low Countries where every thing was favorable: a late conversion to Christianity, Teutonic marriage customs, and large urban populations. It succeeded likewise in England, where conditions were about equally favorable. The religious sterilization of English women, moreover, had been effectually prevented for about three centuries following the Norman conquest. The Lollardism of the fourteenth century had never wholly died out.

In Germany, where Luther preached, the Reformation was most successful in those states which were last to be Christianized, and which had never been provinces of the

Roman Empire. Along the Rhine and the Danube, where religious sterilization had long exercised an adverse influence on the selection of mothers, the German speaking people did not turn from the worship of images. In each instance, it is apparent that the Reformation succeeded where religious sterilization had impaired the selection of mothers for the shortest time; and had been best counteracted for the longest time by marriage customs which made obedience, piety, chastity, and virginity, fruitful.

112. The success of the Reformation in some of the European states was swift, and the issue never afterward in doubt. The failure of the Reformation in others was equally swift, and equally certain. For more than a century, France continued to be debatable ground; and, in Germany, the line between Papist and Protestant states, was not finally drawn till the middle of the seventeenth century. "The geographical frontier between the two religions," says Macaulay, "has continued to run almost precisely where it ran at the close of the Thirty Years' War." (1648.) (*Essay on Von Ranke.*) After this line was drawn, there was, on each side of it, a somewhat different selection of mothers whereby posterity would be affected.

I. That side which was still Papist preserved the religious ideals which had been attained by the sixteenth century. Marriage was a sacrament of the Church, which the Church performed, approved, blessed, and forbade profane hands to dissolve; it was ordained by Heaven, acceptable to God, and the Church applauded parents who gave their virgin daughters to "holy" matrimony. With this great change in the Church's attitude toward marriage, it sought to preserve in some degree the old approval and sanction of sterility. The Roman clergy continued to set the example of celibacy; and religious orders and houses continually reminded the faithful that extreme piety, and exclusive devotion to a life of good works, must be cloistered and sterile. So in the Roman communion, on the whole, nothing which had been gained by the sixteenth century,

was lost. Further gains were definitely slowed up by preserving the religious ideal of saintly sterility.

II. Protestants repudiated the ideal of religious sterilization altogether. Many eminent ones at the beginning decried the religious sanctity of marriage and spoke of it as a profane institution.[1]

Protestant practice, however, up to the nineteenth century saved all that had been gained by the sixteenth. Marriage in Protestant communions was a religious ceremony, ordained of heaven, blessed by the Church, performed by its ministers, and not to be profanely dissolved. For three centuries, there was not more divorce in Protestant than in

[1] Luther is quoted on both sides of the question:

"The marriage state is a sacrament, a symbol of the greatest, holiest, noblest, most worthy thing that has ever existed or can exist: the union of the divine and human natures in Christ." (Luther, *Vom Ehelichen Stande*, Bücher und Schriften I, Fol. 170b.)

"So many lands, so many customs, runs the common saying. Therefore, since weddings and matrimony are a temporal business, it becomes us clerks and servants of the Church to order or rule nothing therein, but to leave to each city and state its own usages and customs in this regard." (Strampff, *Dr. Martin Luther*, pp. 340, 341, 422.)

"Marriage is a 'temporal worldly thing,' which 'does not concern the Church.'" (Luther, *Tischreden*, Fol. 369.)

Milton thought marriage "a civil ordinance, a household contract, a thing indifferent, and free to the whole race of mankind, not as religious, but as men."

"As for marriages, that ministers should meddle with them, as not sanctified or legitimate without their celebration, I find no ground in scripture either of precept or example. Likeliest, it is (which our 'Selden' hath well observed I, II, c. 58, ux. Eb.) that in imitation of heathen ceremonies, and especially, judging it would be profitable, in business of such concernment to the life of man, they insinuated that marriage was not holy without their benediction, and for the better colour, made it a sacrament; being of itself a civil ordinance, a household contract, a thing indifferent, and free to the whole race of mankind, not as religious but as men: best, indeed, undertaken to religious ends, and, as the apostle saith I Cor. VII, 'in the Lord.' Yet not, therefore, invalid or unholy without a minister and his pretended necessary hallowing. more than any other act, enterprise, or contract of civil life, which ought all to be done also in the Lord and to his glory; all which,

Catholic countries[1]; so that the Protestant denial of a religious celibacy which the Roman preserved, is the marked difference between the two communions.[2]

Protestants abolished religious orders, plundered and destroyed religious houses, escheated lands devoted to religious use. No Protestant virgin, however pious, or however cold, found any respectable refuge from marriage or fruitfulness. If she remained sterile, it was not as a bride of Christ, but as an "old maid."

As between Protestant countries, where the religious sterilization of the pious was wholly repudiated and ceased, and Papist countries, where it continued as an ideal, and was to some extent still practiced (marriage customs in both communions being the same) mathematical law would warrant the expectation that in the former the improvement of posterity would proceed faster and further than in the latter. The evidence of history fulfills mathematical expectation.

"The Protestant boasts, and boasts most justly, that wealth, civilization, and intelligence, have increased far

---

no less than marriage, were by the cunning of priests heretofore, as material to their profit, transacted at the altar. Our divines deny it to be a sacrament; yet retained the celebration, till prudently a late Parliament recovered the civil liberty of marriage from their encroachment, and transferred the ratifying and registering thereof from the canonical shop to the proper cognizance of civil magistrates." (Milton, *Prose Works*, III, 21, 22.)

[1] Probably there was less. In Spain, the most Catholic country of Europe, Cervantes wrote for the amusement of Spaniards, his *Comedy of the Divorce Court*. It is doubtful if it could have been written in any Protestant country then.

[2] Luther himself married Catherine Vom Baar a nun. Scandalized churchmen declared that the offspring of such a union could be nothing but devils. More than three centuries have passed since the ministers of the Protestant Churches abandoned sacredotal celibacy for marriage. The amount of genius born in humble parsonages during this period is not small; and if subtracted from Protestant history would leave a great void. This has been an excellent practical trial of the comparative results to be expected by posterity from making piety fruitful rather than sterile.

more on the northern than on the southern side of the boundary, and that countries so little favoured by nature as Scotland and Prussia are now among the most flourishing and best governed portions of the world, while the marble palaces of Genoa are deserted, while the banditti infest the beautiful shores of Campania, while the fertile sea-coast of the Pontifical State is abandoned to buffaloes and wild boars. It cannot be doubted that, since the sixteenth century the Protestant nations have made decidedly greater progress than their neighbors. The progress made by those nations in which Protestantism, though not finally successful, yet maintained a long struggle, and left permanent traces, has generally been considerable. But when we come to the Catholic Land, to the part of Europe in which the first spark of reformation was trodden out as soon as it appeared, and from which proceeded the impulse which drove Protestantism back, we find, at best, a very slow progress, and on the whole a retrogression. Compare Denmark and Portugal. When Luther began to preach, the superiority of the Portuguese was unquestionable. At present, the superiority of the Danes is no less so. Compare Edinburgh and Florence. Edinburgh has owed less to climate, to soil, and to the fostering care of rulers than any capital, Protestant or Catholic. In all these respects, Florence has been singularly happy. Yet whoever knows what Florence and Edinburgh were in the generation preceding the Reformation, and what they are now, will acknowledge that some great cause has, during the last three centuries, operated to raise one part of the European family, and to depress the other. Compare the history of England and that of Spain during the last century. In arms, arts, sciences, letters, commerce, agriculture, the contrast is most striking. The distinction is not confined to this side of the Atlantic. The colonies planted by England in America have immeasurably outgrown in power those planted by Spain. Yet we have no reason to believe that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Castilian was in any respect inferior to the Englishman. Our firm belief is, that the North owes its great civilization and prosperity chiefly to the moral effect of the Protestant Reformation, and that the decay of the southern countries of Europe is to be mainly ascribed to the great Catholic revival."[1]

[1] When this was written, in 1840, Italy had been suffering for about three centuries from factors always adverse to augmented nervous organizations.

(Macaulay, *Historical Essays*, Tit: *History of the Popes.* Von Ranke.)

113. From the fourth century to the tenth century, each successive group, as it was converted to Christianity, declined; and the extent of its decline was commonly measured by its religious zeal. Christian piety was indexed by monasteries, convents, celibacy, sterility, hair shirts, relics, pilgrimages, miracles, superstition, idolatry, intolerance, persecution, decline, disaster, and defeat. The rising groups were irreligious—the Franks, before Charlemagne; the Venetians who traded with the Moslems, and who sold Christian slaves; and the non-Christian Moslems. After the tenth century, there was some modification because of the improved marriage customs introduced by Teutonic and Norman invasions of the older Christian lands; and in Spain, Russia, and Poland by the destruction of religious houses during the Moslem and Tartar inundations. Both Spain and Poland reached their zenith in the generations immediately following these inundations and declined dur-

---

a. The religious sterilization of chaste and pious women, resulting in an unfavorable selection of mothers.

b. A vast amount of Italian property in the demortal hands of the church, instead of in the mortal hands of private persons.

c. Prohibitions, priestly spies and spy government everywhere.

d. Universal worship of visible things—images, shrines and relics.

In Casanova's lively picture of Eighteenth Century Italian manners and morals, all these factors may be easily seen, and the consequent decline of Italian genius might have been exactly predicted. In 1780 Sir William Hamilton, British Ambassador, discovered the worship of Priapus still surviving in a village a few hours distant from Naples.

But even while Macaulay wrote there had been a change from unfavorable to favorable factors, and Italy's regeneration had already begun. Holy matrimony was revered above the conventual life, thus improving the selection of mothers; private property was increasing in mortal hands; prohibitions and spies were disappearing; and the worship of images was declining. Since 1840, improvement has continued at an accelerating pace so that now, more than eighty years later, a contrast between the Italy of 1840 and of 1923 is as striking as the contrast which Macaulay drew between Florence and Edinburgh.

ing the succeeding period of uninterrupted Christian worship in the orthodox Church.

If these results were due to the adverse selection of mothers resulting from the religious sterilization of chaste and pious women, then it would be expected that in the reformed Church, where religious sterilization was altogether repudiated, Christian piety would have the opposite effect. The evidence of history fully meets this mathematical expectation.

In the countries which, after the sixteenth century, still adhered to the unreformed Church, civilization advanced first and fastest among the irreligious. It was in France that irreligion, skepticism and atheism first attacked the Catholic faith.

"Irreligion, accidentally associated with philanthropy, triumphed for a time over religion accidentally associated with political and social abuses. Everything gave way to the zeal and activity of the new reformers. In France, every man distinguished in letters was found in their ranks. Every year gave birth to works in which the fundamental principles of the Church were attacked with argument, invective, and ridicule."

"Orthodoxy soon became a synonym for ignorance and stupidity. It was as necessary to the character of an accomplished man that he should despise the religion of his country as that he should know his letters. The new doctrines spread rapidly through Christendom. Paris was the capital of the whole Continent. French was everywhere the language of polite circles. The literary glory of Italy and Spain had departed. That of Germany had not dawned. That of England shone, as yet, for the English alone. The teachers of France were the teachers of Europe. The Parisian opinions spread fast among the educated classes beyond the Alps: nor could the vigilance of the Inquisition prevent the contraband importation of the new heresy into Castile and Portugal. Governments, even arbitrary governments, saw with pleasure the progress of this philosophy. Numerous reforms, generally laudable, sometimes hurried on without sufficient regard to time, to place, and to public feeling, showed the extent of its influence. The rulers of Prussia, of Russia, of Austria, and of

many smaller states, were supposed to be among the initiated." (Macaulay, *Historical Essays*, Tit: Von Ranke's *History of the Popes*.)

All through the eighteenth century irreligion grew. From the educated classes it spread to shop-keepers, wage-earners, and peasants. At the end of that century, the Bourbons were dethroned, the Bastille pulled down, the *ancien régime* ended, and the republic proclaimed. At this time "the churches were closed; the bells were silent; the shrines were plundered; the silver crucifixes were melted down. Buffoons, dressed in copes and surplices, came dancing the 'carmagnole' even to the bar of the Convention. The bust of Marat was substituted for the statues of the martyrs of Christianity. A prostitute, seated on a chair of state in the chancel of Nôtre Dame, received the adoration of thousands, who exclaimed that at length, for the first time, those ancient Gothic arches had resounded with the accents of truth. The new unbelief was as intolerant as the old superstition. To show reverence for religion was to incur the suspicion of disaffection. It was not without imminent danger that the priest baptized the infant, joined the hands of lovers, or listened to the confession of the dying. The absurd worship of the Goddess of Reason was, indeed, of short duration; but the deism of Robespierre and Lepaux was not less hostile to the Catholic faith than the atheism of Clootz and Chaumette."

Under Napoleon, the arms of the irreligious French were matched against all the devout Catholic states of Europe, and defeated them all. And the nineteenth century continued, in all the states of the unreformed Church, to exhibit the same advantages of irreligion that are to be observed from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. As often as each of these states advanced, the rise of the group was marked by attacks upon the orthodox Church. Religious houses were closed; religious orders interdicted; the Church's lands confiscated, its properties taxed, its tithes

abolished. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the governments of these same states were the subservient tools of the Church, carrying out its decrees, torturing and burning the heretics[1] found by its inquisition, and winning popular approval by all these exhibitions of religious zeal.

This was a period of decay. In each of these states, the revival of the national spirit has been marked by the state's war upon the Church, no less popular than its former subservience.

114. It is plain that the effect of Christian piety in improving or debasing posterity, varies directly according to whether it makes fruitful or sterile the chaste and pious women of the Christian group. During the first three centuries after the death of Jesus, it made them fruitful. Monasticism and celibacy were not then preached to the faithful, sterility was not a dogma of the Church, Christian maidens were admonished to be "discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands." (St. Paul to Titus, II, 5.) The effect of this, during these three centuries, was a favorable selection of mothers, and a consequent improvement of posterity; so that, by the fourth century, Christians seized the reins of government and became masters of the Roman empire. The rise of the early Christians from the first to the fourth century is a near parallel to the rise of Puritans, Quakers, and Evangelicals in England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Like causes, a like period of time, and like results appear in both.

After monasticism and religious sterilization became accepted Christian doctrine, Christian piety, instead of improving posterity, debased it; and the improvement of pious sects in England, after the sixteenth century, finds inter-

[1] Sixty-four public burnings of heretics took place in Spain between 1721 and 1727. *Autos-de-fe* took place in Cordova in 1728, 1730 and 1731; and in Valladolid in 1745. (Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, Bk. VIII, Chap. I.) Convictions for heresy were made by the Church; its sentences were executed by the secular power.

esting contrasts in the earlier history of England after the fourth century.

The first Christians on the island of Great Britain were the Roman Britons. Their piety was renowned; they are supposed to have furnished the eleven thousand pious virgins who perished with St. Ursula at the hands of the Huns. They were unable to withstand the assaults of the heathen Picts. They brought to their defense heathen Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. And they finally perished and disappeared before all these heathen invasions. None of the first Christians of Great Britain remained. Even their language, their customs, their place names, saints' days, and religious observances became extinct.

The Anglo-Saxons next became equally pious, and were invaded and beaten by the pagan Danes. The Danes became pious and were invaded and beaten by the newly converted Normans. The Normans became pious, and the Norman baronage disappeared, and was displaced by the new nobility of English stock. Four times on English soil history records the debasement of pious Christians. After the Reformation, it records their exaltation. In the groups that were debased, piety and sterility, in the groups that were exalted, piety and fruitfulness, went hand in hand.

In the reformed Church, Christian piety was an active and efficient factor in the improvement of posterity. Every group which embraced the reformed doctrines with fanatical enthusiasm rose to power; and their rise corresponded to their religious zeal. In Holland, the Anabaptists, in Scotland the Calvinists and Covenanters, in England the Puritans, excelled all other Christians in the warmth of their devotion and the strictness of their obedience to the new faith. The rise of each country followed their religious zeal. England, indeed, exhibits for three centuries a continuous succession of striking examples of the advantage to a group of Christian piety and unworldliness.

Pious Christians who, in the tenth century, retired from the world, substracted their virtues from posterity. Equally

pious Christians in England, who, after the sixteenth century, condemned the world and its pleasures, multiplied and were exceedingly fruitful. They intermarried and added their virtues in great abundance to their own groups. The first was the Puritans. They rose to rule the commonwealth in the middle of the seventeenth century; and in New England founded a great commonwealth abroad. Next came the Quakers, pious and unworldly. In the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century, the most opulent family fortunes of England and America belonged to this group. There was no port, no great trading or manufacturing centre, without its group of wealthy Quakers. Family names—Barclay, Gurney, Fox, Buxton, Fry and Pease, are still renowned in England for these great Quaker fortunes, and for shrewdness, honesty, benevolence, piety, and public spirit. In the eighteenth century, Whitefield and Wesley began to preach evangelical doctrines to the lowest of England's poor. Their zeal was great, their energy indefatigable, their message "turn from your wickedness and live." The evangelical movement thus begun, founded on piety and unworldliness, separated indeed from the established Church, but departed from it not (as in France) toward atheism and irreligion, but toward a holier life, a purer faith, a deeper piety, and an unworldliness that would bring them nearer and nearer to Jesus. They erected humble chapels, called their meeting places Ebenezer or Bethel; became strict sabbatarians; sung hymns where every voice in the congregation joined, and instrumental music was thought sinful. They praised God's goodness to them, and spoke of the spirit of Pentecost, while they were despised by the established Church, and barely tolerated by the secular power. A century later, a very large part of the old wealth and much the greater part of the new wealth of England was found in the hands of these Evangelicals. The group contained the rich, aristocratic, and powerful families portrayed in the life of Catherine Marsh, one of the influential personages of her day. The "Non-Con-

formist conscience" became in about a century a commanding power in English politics. No politician or political party could stand against its disapproval. When Wesley's preaching, and the piety of dissenters, began, there was rarely an English Cabinet minister who was not a peer or related to the peerage; and such a thing as a dissenter was unknown in the Cabinet, almost unknown in the House of Commons. A century after Wesley's death, the Commons and the Cabinets were filled with adherents of non-conformist sects, and dissenters had become prime ministers.

115. The marked improvement in worldly circumstances of Christian groups which piously forsook the world after the Reformation, has a parallel in the like improvement in religious tolerance in those groups where religious devotion was highest. In the beginning, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Puritans, Presbyterians, Covenanters, persecuted, tortured, and burned with the same heartiness, zeal, hatred, and good conscience which had marked the religious dissensions of Christians for more than a thousand years. During the whole of that period, when religious sterilization of women was accepted Christian doctrine, bigotry, persecution, torture, and death had never flagged. Religious tolerance was an unknown Christian virtue. The office of "Inquisitors of the Faith," founded by Theodosius in the fourth century, had been revived as often as Christian dissension arose. There was no period when it could be affirmed that charity, forgiveness, or brotherly love, existed between Christian sects. Differences of opinion, no matter how trifling, invariably led to charges of heresy, and heresy was invariably stamped out with ferocious cruelty. No pause, moderation, restraint, or mercy was ever shown. Torture and death were measured out in proportions necessary to stamp out heresy, and ceased only when that was accomplished. The persecutions of Christians by pagans are short and pale when compared to the long red chapters of history which describe the persecutions of Christians by Christians.

The rise and growth of the principle of religious tolerance after the Reformation, furnishes a marked contrast to all other Christian history since the Council of Nicæa. In the reformed Church, it came to be affirmed as a Christian virtue. What is noticeable is that it was not in the sixteenth century considered a virtue; that adherents of the reformed creeds were as fanatical as the adherents of the unreformed Church (witness their willingness to suffer martyrdom); so that the toleration of rival creeds did not spring from any doubt as to the truth of their own. Nevertheless, during all that period when fanatical Christians continued the practice of religious sterilization of cold and pious women, generations and centuries passed, without the principle of religious toleration ever arising. During two centuries, when fanatical Christians abandoned this practice and made their most chaste and pious virgins fruitful, the doctrine of religious toleration rose, and became generally accepted in the reformed Church. They took pains to write religious toleration into the fundamental law of new commonwealths which they established. It is impossible to escape the inference that the changed selection of mothers which made the Reformation successful in the sixteenth century, was likewise a potent cause in the rise and growth of the principle of religious toleration in the reformed Church.

116. Side by side with religious toleration, a new ideal of human liberty and the rights of man rose in the reformed Church. In respect to the political ideal usually represented by the words "freedom" and "democracy" history affords some interesting contrasts and parallels.

In the Byzantine empire, devout and orthodox Christians, inheriting from the beginning the Christian tradition, practices, and religion, endured oppression for a thousand years without once rising to the ideal of liberty or popular rule. Sometimes the contented, sometimes the rebellious, subjects of a despotic throne, they remained always subservient, and

the object of their occasional revolts was only to change the oppressor, never to abolish oppression. In the western Church, the general progress of government until the Reformation was toward a like despotism. Representative institutions decayed while the power of the crown increased. In the course of six centuries, the Cortes of Spain, the States General of France, the Republics of Italy, surrendered their powers to hereditary monarchies. So that the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, found western Europe under the sway of the most despotic rulers that were ever known. Henry VIII of England, Charles V and Philip II of Spain, and Louis XIV of France, are noticeable examples of back-sliding toward oppression. After the sixteenth century, states which adhered to the reformed Church show in general a steady progress from oppression and toward freedom; and it is most interesting to observe that this impulse toward freedom was strongest where the reformed Christians were most religious. In Holland, filled with Anabaptists and fanatical Protestants, there was the rise of the Dutch Republic. In England, at the end of the sixteenth century, says Green, "the whole nation became in fact a Church." The most fanatical sect of the Christians were the Puritans. They abolished the crown altogether and set up the commonwealth.

In the unreformed Church, the influence of religious fanaticism on political freedom as on religious tolerance was just the opposite. Those countries which remained rigidly orthodox, those in which heresy was stamped out altogether—Spain, Italy, Hungary, Poland—remained under the old oppression. New political institutions and new freedom had no influence. The one Catholic country that moved toward freedom was France, where irreligion most prevailed. In France, it was the irreligious whose voices and pens made freedom possible. So that, when the atheistic teachings of a century culminated in the French revolution, the political leaders who beheaded the French king were almost as fanatical in their irreligion as the Eng-

lish Puritans who beheaded Charles I had been in their religion.

Here, then, is an interesting parallel between the continuous despotism of the Eastern Church and of the Western Church as long as the religious sterilization of cold and pious women was accepted doctrine; and an interesting contrast between the orthodox Church which professed this doctrine and the reformed Church which repudiated it. The contrast is not alone between two different eras. A continuance of oppression in the most religious states of the unreformed Church and the growth of liberty in irreligious France were contemporaneous with the rise of free institutions in the most religious states of the reformed Church. It is a just inference that the religious sterilization of cold and pious women, continuously subtracting their virtues from posterity, made the groups which practiced it the willing slaves of despotism. The repudiation and reversal of this doctrine changed the selection of mothers, and gradually raised a love of liberty in the groups which were converted to the reformed Church.

The apparent exception of Germany furnishes corroborative evidence. For Germany was so nearly depopulated by the Thirty Years' War that loose sexual unions were adopted and became general among the common people. Protestant Germany, therefore, missed the advantages of strict marriage customs which would serve to impress maternity upon the cold women of the masses of the population. Free institutions and political liberty did not rise in Germany as in other Protestant states.

117. The virtue displayed by Roman wives during the long period when monogamous Roman marriage customs impressed maternity upon cold women regardless of their own consent, and the virtues displayed by early Christian wives before religious sterility became accepted Christian doctrine, are again exhibited by the wives of the most religious sects of the reformed Church. St. Augustine's praise of his mother finds its parallel in the Puritan mother

of a poor London household at the end of the sixteenth century.

"Take such a portrait as that which John Wallington, a turner in Eastcheap has left us of a London housewife, his mother. 'She was very loving,' he says, 'and obedient to her parents, loving and kind to her husband, very tender-hearted to her children, loving all that were godly, much misliking the wicked and profane. She was a pattern of sobriety unto many, very seldom was seen abroad except at Church; when others recreated themselves at holidays and other times, she would take her needlework and say "here is my recreation." . . . God had given her a pregnant wit, and an excellent memory. She was very ripe and perfect in all stories of the Bible, likewise in all the stories of the Martyrs, and could readily turn to them; she was also perfect and well seen in the English Chronicles, and in the descents of the Kings of England. She lived in holy wedlock with her husband twenty years, wanting but four days.'" (Green, *Short History of the English People*, Chap. VIII, Sect. I.)

The ancient celebrity of the Roman matron revived in the British matron. Taine, in his *History of English Literature*, reviews the dramatic poets of the Elizabethan era. His testimony is the more valuable as the testimony of an outsider and a Frenchman; and he describes with unfeigned admiration and astonishment the wives and mothers he finds depicted in the English literature of this age.

"By a singular coincidence, the women are more of women, the men more of men, here than elsewhere. The two natures go each to its extreme: in the one to boldness, the spirit of enterprise and resistance, the warlike, imperious, and unpolished character; in the other to sweetness, devotion, patience, inextinguishable affection, a thing unknown in distant lands, in France especially so: a woman in England gives herself without drawing back, and places her glory and duty in obedience, forgiveness, adoration, wishing and professing only to be melted and absorbed daily deeper and deeper in him whom she had freely and for ever chosen.

"See the representation of this character throughout English and German literature. Stendhal, an acute observer saturated with Italian and French morals and ideas, is astonished at this phenomenon. He understands nothing of this kind of devotion, 'this slavery which English husbands have had the wit to impose on their wives under the name of duty.'" (H. A. Taine, *History of English Literature*, Bk. II, Chap. II, Sect. 7.)

History records no selection of mothers more favorable than this. Abnegation, duty, obedience, piety, chastity, virtues which the unreformed Church would have devoted to cloistered sterility, now in the reformed Church by a religious ceremony are consecrated to marriage and motherhood. These are deeply religious women, faithful to the Church, obedient to fathers and husbands, made fruitful not by asserting their own desires, but by submitting to the will of God. They go as virgins to the marriage bed and children are begotten upon them because of their holy spirit.

118. The marriage customs of early Rome and of the early Christians, imparted a strong strain of sexual coldness in posterity. In Rome, in the fourth century B.C., the coldness of Roman wives made monogamous marriage almost an insupportable burden; and the conspiracy of some scores of matrons to poison their husbands has been already related. Evidence of the same strain of sexual coldness in the early Christians is found in the eager acceptance of the doctrine of monasticism, celibacy, and virginity in the fourth century A.D. The same marriage customs in the reformed Church should show a like result. Successive generations of women, married and fruitful from obedience rather than desire ought to be followed by an augmented nervous organization, increased intellect and spirituality, and by evidence of sexual coldness in their posterity. The amazing growth of intellect and spirituality in the Elizabethan age of England is well known, and need not be recounted in detail. Evidence of the growth of sexual coldness

is found in the rise in England at this period of the ideal of Platonic Love. The New English Dictionary notes the first English use of this term in 1636. It was applied to love or affection for one of the opposite sex, of a purely spiritual character, and free from sexual desire. In 1645 Howell wrote: "The court affords little news at present, but that ther is a love, called Platonick Love, which much swayes ther of late. It is a love . . . (that) consists in contemplation and ideas of the mind, not in any carnall fruition." (*Howell Letters*, 1650, VI, 203.)

Platonic love was observed by many with incredulity and was made the butt of ridicule. It is, however, an evidence of sexual coldness, the logical result of the marriage customs of the most religious sects of the reformed Church. For the first time since the fourth century, Christians had made marriage frankly, openly, and earnestly a holy sacrament, performed by a religious ceremony, in the body of the Church, by its ministers, and requiring the bride's meek submission to an ordinance of heaven. They had repudiated the ideal that there was something holier. Chaste and pious maidens were forbidden to look to sterility as pleasing to God. Marriage bound them for life to one husband, and bound the husband to one wife. Always and everywhere the effect of such marriage institutions is to forbid the adverse selection of ardent women for motherhood, cold ones for sterility. Submission, obedience, piety, take the place of desire, and impress maternity upon cold women. The result in any group may be expected and observed with mathematical certainty. In everything that goes to make a civilization the group improves.

119. During the period of two centuries from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, civilization had a brilliant rise; and it is plain that this was a rise of the middle class. The lesser aristocracy of landowners, continuously recruited from the middle class, cannot be segregated from it. But in respect to the princely caste, it is evident that the hereditary rulers vanquished by

Napoleon at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were not possessed of a genius and ability surpassing their predecessors of the seventeenth century, or even their earliest ancestors of the thirteenth century. "Bourbonism" became a synonym for intellectual stagnation—the mind that learned nothing and forgot nothing. In respect to the peasantry it is equally evident that there was no spiritual advance. Professor Mavor declares that the Russian peasantry declined in the three centuries following Ivan the Terrible. In Poland, Hungary, and Eastern Europe generally, the condition of the peasants during these two centuries remained unchanged, except possibly in a change for the worse. In Germany, Protestant as well as Catholic, the same held true. Serfdom continued in some of the German states until the nineteenth century. In Italy the *contadini* did not improve. The Spanish peasant, whom George Borrow met in 1840, was probably less enterprising and resourceful than his ancestors of 1540. France, during these two centuries, had a brilliant intellectual rise; but the state of French agriculture, as described by Arthur Young at the end of the eighteenth century, was probably worse than it had been two centuries before; and the French peasant painted by Millet in the nineteenth century, shows no improvement over the peasant of the thirteenth.

Two things show the general stagnation of the European peasantry during this period. First, the abundance of savage beasts roaming forests and fields; their numbers seem hardly to have been diminished notwithstanding the considerable increase of the peasant population. Second, the ability of rulers, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, to command their own states and to fight their neighbors with small armies of professional soldiers. The best evidence of a rising peasantry is their ability to beat the professional man at arms, as the English bowmen beat the French knights at Cressy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, an armed nation resulting from universal military conscription, was unknown. The peasantry

were everywhere kept in subjection by a few soldiers drawn from their own number. In America, during this same period, those immigrants drawn from the peasant and serving class, and not from the middle class, remained as stagnant as in Europe. In the twentieth century they are still called "Elizabethan." The colonists who fought at Cowpens and King's Mountain in the Revolutionary War, were probably superior to the same class of poor whites, one hundred years later. The backwardness of this class in America may be taken as evidence that it was not due to oppression, taxation, monarchical, or aristocratic institutions.

120. The middle class during the same period, had a marvelous rise and carried civilization up with it. History shows a continuous augmentation in the intellectual and spiritual qualities of this class, not shared by other classes. This advancement cannot be ascribed to government, because it occurred under governments of various sorts. It cannot be ascribed to religion; the middle class and the lower classes were of the same religion—Catholic in papal countries, Protestant in Protestant countries. It cannot be ascribed to oppression of the lower classes; for this class failed to advance in America where it was not oppressed; and the improvement of the middle class surpassed the aristocratic and upper classes, who were not oppressed. Evidence has been given to show that the augmentation of the nervous organization of man, resulting in increased intellectuality and spirituality, has been due in all other civilized groups to the propagation of and by cold women. It would be expected, therefore, that in this class conditions for the such propagation were favorable, while in the other classes they were less favorable, or unfavorable. An examination of the evidence fulfills this expectation in all respects.

The favorable influences exerted by alcoholic temptation and by private property are part of the general history of mankind and are dealt with in separate chapters. Here

there will be considered only the immediate influence of marriage, prostitution, and famine, in the selection of mothers.

121. In the upper classes, marriage had been for centuries and continued to be by custom and tradition, a matter of "settlements." The urban middle class, as fast as it acquired wealth, standing, and independence, so as to create customs of its own, adopted these marriage customs of the upper class. Marriage was a financial arrangement, and every bride was expected to bring to her husband a portion. This is seen plainly as early as the sixteenth century, extending to the English yeomanry. "My father," said Latimer, in his first sermon before King Edward VI, "was a yeoman and had no landes of hys owne. He maryed my sisters with five pound, or XX. nobles apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness, and the feare of God." In the nineteenth century, Tennyson's Northern Farmer hears "proputty, proputty, proputty" in his horse's canter, and tells his son "'Doant thou marry for munny, but goa wheer munny is.'" Here then in the yeoman class from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, marriage is not merely a question of desire and consequent mating. It is a financial arrangement for the transfer of property.

It is from the yeoman class that much of the urban middle class is recruited; and as this latter class acquires wealth and solidarity, and establishes customs of its own, it goes further than the yeoman class in approaching the marriage customs of the upper classes. The daughters of the bourgeoisie are portioned, marriage is negotiated as an exchange of property, and conveys property rights. Daughters of the house are not permitted to say whether or whom they will marry. Old Capulet, storming at Juliet, is an excellent illustration of the uniform marriage customs of the bourgeoisie throughout Europe. For Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* tells an Italian story for English audiences. The attitude of Capulet toward his daughter's marriage, was equally Italian and English.

"Thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds,
But fettle your fine joints 'gainst Thursday next
To go with Paris to Saint Peter's Church
Or I will drag thee on a hurdle thither."

A century after Shakespeare, the same marriage customs may be seen unchanged in the long account of Pepys' Diary, concerning the negotiations and settlements for his brother's marriage. The same custom was noted and questioned by Dr. Johnson.

"There wanders about the world a wild notion, which extends over marriage more than over any other transaction. If Miss—— followed a trade, would it be said that she was bound in conscience to give or refuse credit at her father's choice? And is not marriage a thing in which she is more interested, and has therefore more right of choice?" (*Letters to Mrs. Thrale*, I, 83, 4; 1773.)

In *Locksley Hall* in the middle of the nineteenth century, Tennyson scolded against it. It is unnecessary to cite further evidence or to multiply instances. Dr. Johnson's hyperbole "about the world" must be understood as meaning the middle and upper classes of Christendom; and as thus understood it is correct. Letters, diaries, memoirs, biographies, novels, and plays of all Europe for at least two centuries, in France and England[1]

[1] Since this was written Mr. Maurice Hewlett has given a brief and accurate summary of English marriage as it existed up to 1830.

"I suppose that Love's great usurpation took place here when the British developed the inordinate sentimentalism which still afflicts us. Broadly speaking, it was kept in its proper place in domestic life until the nineteenth century was thirty years old. You can almost date it by great Victoria. From the Pastons to Pepys, from Pepys to Walpole, and from him to Jane Austen you may read how the British people made marriage in all walks of life. Liking, in the male, may have prompted the transaction, but it was strictly regulated by convenience and the real end of life. It was a matter of bargain, sometimes of bargain and sale." (Maurice Hewlett, Wiltshire Essays; Oxford University Press, 1921; *The Great Affair.*)

The change since then may be ascribed to:

for three centuries, attest the compulsory marriage of daughters of the middle class, in obedience to parental command, as a custom universal, undisputed, and (until the nineteenth century) hardly questioned. This class was eager for property, and marriage was one way of acquiring, preserving, and transmitting it to posterity. Cohabitation and potential parenthood, without an eye to property, but for love alone, was looked upon not as marriage, but as mésalliance and misfortune.

122. Parental command had some powerful auxiliaries. In Protestant countries, marriage was looked upon as woman's religious duty. Sterile virginity, which, for twelve unlucky centuries, had passed among Christians not only as respectable, but as the highest and holiest estate of woman,

---

I. Universal English literacy of all classes. The upper classes no longer read Latin or Greek; the lower classes which formerly read nothing but the Bible, now read everything else printed in English.

II. Hence the market for English literature has been enlarged to include the whole English speaking world, every class of society and every shade of religious or irreligious opinion.

III. For a century this huge market has been supplied by story tellers of whom the greater number tell love stories.

IV. Cheap paper, printing and postage has given to the love story the widest dissemination among all classes of society which it has ever received in the history of the world. Instead of being told orally in bazaars and market places to the small crowd that can assemble within the sound of the story teller's voice, the love story has been for two generations carried to every home and fireside and treasured in even the poorest chambers and the meanest huts.

The result has been to exalt the mutual passions of the sexes and enthrone sexual love as a God. The reversal in the marriage customs of the English speaking peoples is complete and the change in national character, already apparent, will increase with each generation. For two generations after 1830 English love stories were usually marked by decency and restraint, attributable to a long background of a favorable selection of mothers. Love was elevated above passion, and its spiritual qualities were uppermost. In the third generation this has changed and, as the relations of the sexes grow more oriental, English love stories become more and more like the love tales of the Arabian nights. English civilization is taking the same course as Roman and from the same cause.

was abandoned and abhorred. The Protestant maiden of the middle classes who did not marry, was an object of pity and derision, and was most fortunate if this were secret, and not portrayed openly to her face. Girls were educated for marriage; brought up to play with dolls in their tenderest years; then to learn household tasks and the management of a home; finally to acquire polite accomplishments—fine needlework, embroidery, music, and things that would occupy mind and fingers, while making home a pleasant place. All this was with a view to their marriage. For marriage was not only their most desirable career, it was their only career. In the education of one sex there was no selection against the home. It was not intended that a respectable middle class girl should exercise a wide choice as to her future, and accept a position as wife and mother only because nothing else more interesting, lucrative, or suitable attracted her. Her education was intended to and did disqualify her for all other pursuits but the pursuit of a husband. If she took service, gained wages, or followed any calling whatsoever for a livelihood, she lost caste at once. Social pressure was added to parental command, to early training, and to later education. The view of her parents as to the desirability and suitability of marriage was the view of all her relations, however distant, of her friends, her Church, her pastor, and her God. For two centuries, no Protestant maiden in a middle class family was allowed to think that life contained for her anything higher or holier or better—anything to be more eagerly sought, earnestly aspired to, and instantly accepted than a good marriage.

Finally, in all this teaching there was no thought of selfishness; least of all was there any element of carnal indulgence. From the daughters of the respectable middle class, the venereal aspects of marriage were hidden with the most anxious care. Most significant of the effect upon posterity of these marriage customs was the fact that each generation of brides was more ignorant of nuptial expectations than the generation before. At the beginning of this period,

coarse jokes and raillery, descending to obscenity, still hovered round the marriage ceremony. At the end of it they had quite disappeared.

To the virgin daughter of the pious middle class, her marriage meant much. If she were brought up, as she usually was, by stern parents, marriage was her last act of obedience to their parental rule. By marriage, she herself became head of a household, invested with the sceptre of command. Families were prolific, and most girls grew up in a house full of brothers and sisters who trampled unceasingly upon their feelings, teased them unmercifully for any idiosyncrasies, and rubbed them smooth of all individuality. By marriage, a girl escaped this and gained a home where she suffered the enforced companionship of only one human being instead of a dozen. Marriage, too, was a refuge from poverty and a provision for old age. These were its worldly advantages, and the most pious evangelical circles taught that they were not to be despised.

But, also, marriage was a holy ordinance, celebrated with solemn religious rites. Any girl could remember her confirmation. Marriage was like unto it. From earliest childhood this had been impressed upon her. The notion of married life as an indulgence of the body's lust, never crossed her mind nor was admitted to her inmost thoughts. Marriage was her priesthood. It had the worldly advantages of home, rank, position, property, security, social consideration, and independence. These were tithes paid to virtue, duty, obedience, unselfishness, and religious submission to the Divine will. All this was bound up in God's holy ordinance of matrimony; all this she saw in every wedding; and she trusted and believed that the appointed day would come when she too, a pure virgin clad in ceremonial robes, would march down the ancient Church's well-remembered aisles in solemn procession, with prayers and music, to make the sacred vows and receive by Divine command the religious ordination, that consecrated her, as wife and mother, to the holy service of God.

123. Among the lower classes, the institution of marriage was quite the reverse of what it was in the middle and upper classes. No property rights were involved; for neither bride nor groom had property. In the landless agricultural class, marriage afforded the woman no escape from labor, poverty, or a destitute old age. Peasants of both sexes labored in the fields before and during coverture. No maiden looked forward to marriage as an escape from drudgery. Parental command was equally wanting. Not only the labor of their daily lives, but holidays, games, festivals, and fairs, brought the young of both sexes together and direct courtship was customary and expected. Young men did not pay their "addresses" to the opposite sex, and bashfully ask the loved one's father for her hand. They wooed without ceremony, and were often accepted without it; marriage followed, to legalize a union already in fact accomplished. Girls wanted to marry, and social pressure favored marriage; but favored it because it favored lawful as against unlawful unions legitimate over bastard children. Girls were not educated for marriage alone, and disqualified for everything else. They lost no social esteem by going out to service, or taking wages, or becoming self-supporting. Indeed, girls who could abide sterility had every incentive to do so. They were likely to have pleasanter surroundings, under a drier roof, in a warmer house, with a softer bed, better food, and superior bodily comforts, if they remained in service as maids, than if they took husbands from their own class. Drunkenness, and wife beating were extremely common; so common that it must be presumed that every girl knew that marriage would expose her to blows.

Neither did girls of this class remain in sexual ignorance. Among the agricultural peasants, children acquire sexual knowledge at a very early age. The dairy, sheep-fold, and poultry-yard, are the earliest co-educational institutions where boys and girls learn together the same things. In the towns, where the modesty and ignorance of girls of the

middle and upper classes were carefully protected, lust and obscenity were continually thrust upon the attention of girls of the lower classes. Courtship by pairing off alone, with the resulting amorous bodily contact, forbidden to girls of the middle and upper classes, was universally expected and accepted by girls of the lower class. This alone dispelled sexual ignorance. Besides their general acquiescence in a daughter's intimacy with her suitor, parents gave it special sanction and convenience by the practice of "bundling." Even now, when class standards are not nearly so far apart as before the middle of the nineteenth century, public love making is, as may be seen, still accepted as the correct thing by that class in which it is an unbroken tradition.

Finally, to all these considerations of absence of property, absence of parental command, absence of social pressure, and absence of sexual ignorance, there must be added, when considering the lower classes, their light view of marriage as a holy ordinance of God. Marriage, to them, was respectable, desirable, and legalized a carnal union. But there is the most abundant testimony that among the lower classes generally, the agricultural peasants especially, mating often preceded marriage. The bride instead of being given as a virgin to a religious ordination which would make her fruitful, had already given herself, and asked only that the path upon which she had entered should be made a lawful road for her to travel. Extracts from Flexner's *Prostitution in Europe* will furnish sufficient evidence on this point.

"In the city, such informal mating of industrial workers of opposite sexes is common; the shop girl contracts an aliance of this kind with a clerk of her own class, or not infrequently with a student or professional man, more or less above her in rank.

"The incident is so common among the lower classes, especially in the rural districts, as hardly to carry any stigma at all.

"'Immoral relations before marriage among the lower classes are not unusual and are indulgently regarded,' writes Charles Booth of London. Devon, describing Glasgow conditions, observes to the same effect that 'girls do not seem to suffer in self-respect nor greatly in the esteem of others, if they yield themselves to the lad who is their sweetheart for the time. If decency is observed, morals are taken for granted.' On the Continent, these conditions also exist. 'Extra-marital, especially pre-marital intercourse is everywhere in the country very frequent,' declares Moll. Of certain communities in Saxony it has been deliberately asserted that 'no girl over sixteen is still a virgin'; the German peasant is declared to have no conception of the meaning of chastity." (Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe*, Chap. I.)

The conditions given were not however quite universal as to time and place. When Protestants were moved by strong religious conviction, convictions approaching fanaticism, strict sexual morality was for that period and in that place extended to the landless agricultural class. This phenomenon appeared among the Scotch peasantry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It did not stop sexual immorality, but it reprobated and severely punished it. Among the Scotch peasantry of the Covenanters, public opinion was sternly against fornication, and treated it as a crime, whether indulged by man or by woman. Here then was repeated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the same phenomenon observable in the second and third centuries among the early Christians of the Roman Empire of the same social class.

124. The ordered and regular famine of cities promotes a favorable selection of mothers. No one in the city owns or tills land, or produces food; but every one eats. The group nearest to the point of starvation is least able to multiply and to increase. Most of its members must be sterile, or must have few children, and rear few of those which they have. As starvation begins to recede, and abundance to approach, members of the group are more and more able to marry, and to bring increased numbers of

offspring to maturity. Finally, in those urban groups where abundance is assured, fecundity is the most important factor in augmenting the numbers of the group. During the two centuries from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth, food exercised a strong influence over the numbers of the urban middle and lower classes.

In the city, food is not produced or obtained directly by labor, nor even by barter. It is to be had for money, and all the different ways of getting money are equally serviceable in procuring food; for money gets food. Money is to be had not by labor alone but by trade, commerce, ingenuity, enterprise, professional and intellectual employments. Money, moreover, may be saved, which food may not. So that a man who can not live on the harvest of ten years ago or fifty years ago, may nevertheless live very well on the money earned then by himself, his father, or his grandfather, because it is equally serviceable in buying food today. Hence, providence and thrift, virtues of no use to slaves or serfs, and of little use to landless laborers in the fields, become a transcendant benefit to the landless wage earners of the cities. These virtues, alone, are almost enough to determine their numbers. With these virtues they may survive and increase. Without them, even the greatest fecundity wages a losing battle with want.

The group whose cold women are made fruitful gains an important advantage in the getting and saving of money. Successive generations of such a group continuously improve, their nervous organization is steadily augmented, and intellect becomes more and more the master of their emotions. Of the multitude of ways of getting money, all the most lucrative will be found occupied and enjoyed by the members of this group. They labor not much with their hands or their backs; but they will be found directing trade and commerce, masters of works and mills, and leaders in professional and intellectual attainments. And their advantage in gaining money is extended to saving it. Mar-

riage for money secures an immediate and direct advantage to their descendants. But, beyond this, a continuous augmentation of the intellect, so that it is more than a match for the emotions, furnishes their descendants with a weapon and a shield against temptation. In a city given to drunkenness, gluttony and lust, they can live pure and unworldly lives, making much money and saving much, spending it in godly ways but not in riotous living.

The famine of the cities, therefore, makes food an important factor in the survival of groups; food is obtained by money; the group which exercises a favorable selection of motherhood is best able to obtain money and to save it; hence the ordered and regular famine of cities promotes the survival and increase of this group.

125. It is very different with the landless agricultural laborer. He obtains food by producing it, and labors not with his head but with his hands. Where the nervous organization of any of this group is greatly augmented, they leave agricultural labor altogether, and seek at once the towns, where increased intellectual powers are better rewarded. The class which still labors on the land is necessarily not intellectual. Fecundity is far more important than intellect for maintaining and increasing their numbers. Hence this class generally descends from prolific women of lower nervous organization and who bear children with smaller heads.

Famine, natural and perennial in cities, is in the country an unnatural and unusual calamity. It is due to a catastrophe—perhaps to invasion, drought, flood, or other visitation. During these two centuries of which we have been speaking (from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth), such famines occurred repeatedly in the country districts of Europe, covering areas of various size. Taine supposes that, in 1715, one-third of the French peasants, amounting to six millions, perished from hunger and destitution.

Against these country famines, intellect and ability to

resist temptation, are neither a weapon nor a shield. People perish not from extravagance or drink; and not from the want of enterprise, or ingenuity, or industry, or steady habits, or any of the virtues which in the city are so richly rewarded. In the country, famine means dearth, and the peasants perish without psychological selection. When the famine has passed and plenty returns, the country is quickly repeopled; and, in the process of repeopling it, there is an important physiological selection. The agricultural peasantry is repeopled first and easiest by the most prolific mothers. It is not cold women, bearing painfully offspring of augmented nervous organization, but ardent women bearing easily children with smaller heads, that will soonest fill the deserted fields.

This was very apparent in the decline of the German peasantry which followed the Thirty Years' War. One hundred years earlier, in Luther's day, a strong spirit of rebellion was shown. The German peasants revolted against both the Church and the aristocracy. In the Thirty Years' War, much of Germany was laid entirely waste, and became a desert; and the population is supposed to have been reduced from twenty million to six million. The destruction of so many people by a non-selective catastrophe of this magnitude, left Germany to be repeopled by its most prolific women. This is a physiological selection that follows rural famine with mathematical certainty. Accordingly, the German peasant one hundred years after the Thirty Years' War was inferior to the peasant of Luther's time. He was more easily kept in subjection, was sold as a hireling to alien princes, and was emancipated from serfdom later than the peasantry of any other part of Protestant Europe.

A comparison therefore of the effects of urban famine and of rural famine shows:

I. Urban famine is selective; and affords a continuous numerical advantage to the group whose cold women are fruitful.

II. Rural famine is not selective; but in repeopling country districts after famine, advantage is on the side of the ardent and prolific woman.

126. The rise of the urban middle class changed the effect of woman's impudicity upon both the numbers and character of posterity. In the early classifications of society, before the rise of large towns, lewd women could easily be prolific, and must often have been more prolific than chaste women. Among the landless peasantry of every age and race, pregnancy and childbirth have been so easy and natural as to cause little interruption in woman's daily life and labor. Therefore, the difficulties of such women in obtaining a livelihood for themselves have never been greatly increased by the coming of offspring, and, indeed, they usually succeed in securing a livelihood for their offspring as well. The fecundity of self-supporting women of various degrees of lightness, may be inferred from a number of instances given in the Bible.

I. The incestuous origin of Moab and Ammon. (Genesis, Chap. XIX.)

II. The preservation of Hagar and Ishmael, and the increase of Ishmael into a great nation. (Genesis, Chap. XXI.)

III. Rebecca's complaint of the daughters of Heth. (Genesis, Chap. XXVII.)

IV. The transaction between Judah and Tamar. (Genesis XXXVIII.)

V. The fecundity of the Hebrew women under bondage in Egypt. (Exodus, Chap. I.)

VI. Their fecundity after they have abandoned chastity and become lewd women. (See Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos.)

Add to the Biblical evidence the various Greek stories of the conception and birth of heroes, for whom divine paternity was alleged for want of an earthly father; and of the nymphs and satyrs whose traits are remembered in our words "nymphomaniac" and "satyriasis." In Rome, according

to Livy, there were courtesans before money was coined.[1] And the proletariat of early Rome must have lived under conditions where lewd women were prolific.

After the fall of Roman civilization these conditions were repeated in Western Christendom. Repeated invasions destroyed houses, farm-steads, and crops, and drove away cattle, so that vast areas of Western Europe were reforested. Vast populations were reduced to want and misery, and in many cases quite extinguished by great famines. The survivors were "miserably fed on beans, vetches, roots, even the bark of trees." (Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, Vol. II, Chap. II.) Under these conditions, the land was repeopled chiefly by women to whom chastity was the least and last of considerations. Physical strength, natural desires, and fecundity, were the chief factors in the selection of mothers. Posterity, therefore, descended from women of low nervous organization, who bore easily, without pain or danger, large numbers of children with smaller heads. And for the most numerous classes of the population this condition must have extended in point of time throughout all the middle ages, until the rise of considerable towns.

It has already been noticed that when the Christian population of Europe was classified only in respect to its relations to the soil, the "bordel" or bordar's hut became known as an abode of harlots. It is inferable that the numbers of serfs and villeins were continuously replenished by lewd and prolific women. As more and more land was enclosed, and the ability to obtain subsistence became an increasing factor, the numerical advantage of mere fecundity declined. Lewd women, however, continued, down to the nineteenth century, to furnish a part of the landless peasant population. Not only is this clear from the accounts of peasant morals everywhere, and from the statistics

[1] Livy, Bk. II, Chap. XVIII, recounts a quarrel over some courtesans. In Bk. IV, Chap. LX, it is stated that "coined money was not yet introduced."

of illegitimate birth, but it is set forth with numerical exactness in Mr. Dugdale's account of several generations of the Jukes. Dugdale and his successor Esterbrook trace for upward of one hundred and fifty years the American descendants of six sisters (called "Jukes"), who were born between the years 1740 and 1770. Five of the six women were fruitful, three out of the five certainly lewd. Fifty-two per cent of all the women traced by Dugdale were harlots. In this period, there were found over two thousand descendants. But, besides this detailed study of the numerical results of female lewdness in a single family connection, it is noticeable generally that nearly every fertile countryside in old countries contains one or more women notoriously immoral, but nevertheless prolific.

127. The rise of large towns and the growth of capital, industry, and the wage system, exercise powerful restraints upon the fecundity of lewd women. Vice is commercialized, and the prolific harlot of the countryside changes to the sterile prostitute of the city, whose first care is not to bear offspring. "Prostitution," says Flexner, "is an urban problem, its precise character largely dependent on the size of the town." All urban prostitution, however, is alike in sterilizing the prostitute. She manages by the wages of her calling to support herself. But it is seldom that she can rear even one daughter to maturity, much less a half dozen, and it is universally true that the ranks of urban prostitutes are not recruited from their own offspring, but from the offspring of others. It is in the towns that lewd women are effectively sterilized.

In the pages of Shakespeare and of Steele, the reader will find a well drawn difference between the rural or semi-rural harlot, and the urban prostitute. The former is typified by Doll Tearsheet and the "*bona deas*" of Justice Shallow's Oxford days. In Shakespeare's time, England was still rural, and London just beginning to be a large town. When Steele wrote the *Spectator* (in 1711) London had become a city, and prostitution was well established. His descrip-

tion of the barren misery of the young woman "newly come upon the town" is very different from any Shakespearean picture of English life.

As the cities grew, the numbers of prostitutes in proportion to the population became enormous. In Besant's *London* (Eighteenth Century) they are repeatedly described as being always in evidence—"the woman in scarlet was everywhere,"—"the universal presence of the courtesan." Like the nuns of the middle ages, the urban prostitutes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not constitute a true group, for they were not reproductive. The inmates of the cloister and the brothel were alike sterilized, and alike recruited from the remainder of the population; the difference being that the cloister sterilized the pious and chaste, the brothel the profane and lewd. So, also, between rustic and urban harlotry the difference was that the former were prolific and multiplied their numbers, whereas the latter were sterile and continuously subtracted lewdness from posterity. When purity was continuously excised by the convent and impurity multiplied by the rustic harlot, a low standard of sexual morals ought to result. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that in the middle ages "a sufficient supply of women was imported by way of entertaining the delegates at Church congresses." (Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe*; Bloch, Vol. I, pp. 710–712, gives details and authorities.)

For about three centuries, now, the conventual sterilization of purity has ceased; altogether in Protestant countries, very largely in the Roman communion. For two or three centuries, urban prostitution has, on a great scale, been continuously and effectively sterilizing impurity. Accordingly, improvement in the ideals and practices of sexual purity should be very great. Conditions making for the growth of purity have been at their best in England, where religious houses were abolished in the sixteenth century, and where the urban, industrial organization of society on a wage-earning basis has been carried to the greatest extent.

Flexner notices, therefore, that improvement in sexual purity has been greater in England than anywhere on the Continent. He excepts England from the universal incontinence which he ascribes to Continental Europe; and in a foot-note he adds the following testimony:

"Family and religious life are so differently organized that there is a very strong presumption that correct living is in certain strata of society distinctly more probable than on the Continent. Organizations like the White Cross Societies and The Alliance of Honor testify to the existence of sound sentiment and promote sound practice."

Credit for an equal improvement may be given to a large American population of English descent.

128. For convenience in considering the evidence these three classes of society will be numbered:

I. The princely caste.

II. The urban middle class including the lesser landlords.

III. The landless agricultural peasant.

The evidence just examined covers the period of about two centuries from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Class II was continuously advancing, Class III about stationary, and Class I probably falling back. In respect to the influence exerted by marriage, famine and prostitution on each of these classes, the conclusions warranted by the evidence may be summarized as follows:

I. In respect to marriage Class II had the advantage. The marriage customs of Class III tended not at all to enforce maternity upon cold women, but rather invited them to sterility, if they could abide it. The marriage customs of Class I were superficially much the same as of Class II in respect that the wishes of brides were not consulted, and the intimate personal courtship of Class III was not permitted. But the daughters of Class I had a narrow range of eligible husbands. Property was usually secured to them by jointure, so that they were in a degree independent

of the husband's support; and custom sanctioned great looseness in the husband's conduct, so that cold women of the princely caste easily escaped virile pressure. In Class II, girls were married with the same ignorance and the same obedience to parental command as in Class I; after marriage they were more dependent upon and obedient to their husbands than wives of Class I. And the moral standards of pious and respectable bourgeois made their wives fruitful.

II. In respect to famine, the urban middle class had likewise the advantage. They inherited no lands, and the public treasury taxed instead of feeding them. Class I, living chiefly on inherited lands, and on the power to tax, was not menaced by famine as Class II always was. As between Class II and Class III, both were threatened by famine; but Class II could escape urban famine by an augmented nervous organization which would be useless to Class III when confronted with rural famine. For Class II, famine was either perennial or was escaped altogether. For Class III, famine was catastrophic; and after its visitation the most ardent and prolific women first repeopled the land.

III. In respect to prostitution, also, Class II had the advantage. In Class I, the traditions and mode of life sanctioned a continuous espionage over marriageable daughters. Those who might otherwise have abandoned chastity and duty were protected by espionage from temptation, seduction, and ruin. In Class II, there was no like protection. Daughters of this class who forgot their duty were easily led astray. Unchastity in Class II always led to sterility. In Class III unchastity was almost as prolific as chastity, and could not only replenish but even multiply its own numbers.

129. Thus, in the period of selection which led to the nineteenth century, and exercised immediate influence over the spiritual stature of its inhabitants, the evidence shows that the best selection of mothers was to be found

in the urban middle class. In this class, there united to the highest degree all the factors which would enforce fruitful maternity upon cold women of high nervous organization. They are found in lesser degree in the princely caste; and hardly at all in the landless agricultural peasants. It would be expected therefore that the continuous favorable selection of mothers in the urban middle class would result in a marked development of genius in that class. The nervous organization of posterity would be augmented, and children with larger heads would be born. The evidence exactly fulfills this mathematical expectation.

"In considering to what social class the 1030 eminent British men and women on our list belong, we seek to ascertain the position of the fathers:

Upper classes (or 'good family')	154	18.5%
Yeomen and farmers	50	6%
Church	139	16.7%
Law	59	7.1%
Army	35	4.2%
Navy (and sea generally)	16	1.9%
Medicine	30	3.6%
Miscellaneous professions	65	7.8%
Officials, clerks	27	3.2%
Commercial	156	18.8%
Crafts	77	9.2%
Artisans and unskilled	21	2.5%

"'Miscelleaneous professions' include 20 artists; 9 musicians and composers; 16 actors; 6 men of letters; 4 engineers; 3 men of science; 7 school-masters.

"Class constitution of the ordinary population in Great Britain:

Professional classes		4.46%
Commercial	"	10.36%
Industrial	"	10.90%
Artisans	"	26.82%
Labourers	"	47.46%

"The comparison with the class of ability-producing persons is interesting. We have two pyramids, but the base of the one corresponds with the apex of the other, the same inverted relationship existing harmoniously throughout.

The aristocratic class which forms the foundation of the ability-producing pyramid (though this fact is slightly disguised by the omission from my list of hereditary peers) forms the fine and invisible apex of the pyramid constituted by the ordinary population. The professional class which (often in close association with the aristocratic class) forms the great bulk of the one pyramid still merely appears as the apex of the other. The commercial class also bulks more largely in the ability-producing pyramid, but to a much less extravagant extent. The industrial class (or craftsmen) which comes in the middle furnishes about the same proportion in each case, while the artisans and labourers who form nearly three-fourths of the general population, appear among the ability-producing persons as a vanishing point almost as negligible as the aristocratic class is among the general population." (Havelock Ellis, *A Study of British Genius*, Chap. III, Tit.—Social Class.)

130. It is noticeable, in all countries and in all ages, that, in those classes of the population where mating is natural and by or with woman's desire, genius does not appear. This is by very much the greatest part of the world's population, and it has been bearing offspring and renewing its numbers for centuries. In all this time, the groups which have enforced maternity upon cold women, have been very few, and have been numerically insignificant. Yet in these groups all the genius has been born. It would be expected, therefore, that the more numerous and prolific class where genius is not born, would have mothers of lower nervous organization, bearing children with smaller heads. The result would be the same normal, easy, and painless childbirth that is found in other mammals. Women would be prolific with the same natural happiness as ewes.

The evidence on this point is so abundant that it hardly needs to be cited. I recall the following:

"And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come in unto them." (Exodus, Chap. I, verse 19.)

"The painfull throwes of childbearing, deemed both by Physitians, and by the word of God to be verie great, and which our women passe with so many ceremonies, there are whole Nations that make no reckoning of them. I omit to speake of the Lacedemonian women; but come we to the Swizzers of our Infanterie, what change doe you perceive in them? But that trudging and trotting after their husbands, to day you see them carrie the child about their necks, which but yesterday they bare in their wombe." (*Montaigne's Essays*. Florio's Translation. First Book, Chap. XL.)

"When I awoke in the morning and made my rounds through the camp, I found a squaw had been delivered of beautiful twins during the night, and I saw the same squaw at work tanning deer-skins. She had cut two vines at the roots of opposite trees, and made a cradle of bark, in which the new-born ones were wafted to and fro with a push of her hand, while from time to time she gave them the breast, and was apparently unconcerned as if the event had not taken place." (Buchanan, *Life of Audubon*, Chap. VII.)

"One of the women, who had been leading two of our pack horses, halted at a rivulet about a mile behind and sent on the two horses by a female friend. On inquiring of Cameahwait the cause of her detention, he answered with great apparent unconcern, that she had just stopped to lie in, but would soon overtake us. In fact, we were astonished to see her in about an hour's time come on with her new-born infant, and pass us on her way to the camp, seemingly in perfect health." (*Journal of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition.*)

"They have to work as hard as the men and get less for it; they have to produce offspring, quite regardless of times and seasons, and the general fitness of things, they have to do this as expeditiously as possible so that they may not unduly interrupt the work in hand; and nobody helps them, notices them, or cares about them, least of all the husband. It is quite a usual thing to see them working in the fields in the morning and working again in the afternoon, having in the interval produced a baby. The baby is left to an old woman whose duty it is to look after babies collectively. . . . A woman arrived alone, and taking up a spade, began to dig. She grinned cheerfully at us as she made a curtesy, and the overseer remarked that she had just been back to the house and had a baby." (*Elisabeth and Her German Garden.*)

The industrious reader will add to the above as many more instances as he chooses.

In contrast to the foregoing, there is the severe labor, danger and frequent death which comes with childbirth in all groups of augmented nervous organization, where genius is produced. Ancient examples of this are found in Rachel, mother of Joseph, who died in her second childbed; the miscarriages recited by Plutarch, which were so frequent in Rome at the period of Publicola; and the "Cæsarean section," resorted to in ancient as well as modern times, for the supernatural delivery of offspring. In his *Natural History*, Pliny asserts that the first of the Cæsars was thus delivered.[1] Plutarch wrote the lives of nine eminent Romans of the first century B.C.—Sylla, Lucullus, Crassus, Pompey, Cæsar, Cato, Cicero, Antony, Marcus Brutus. In these nine biographies, no less than three women are recorded as having died in childbed—Æmilia, daughter of Scaurus and Metella, and wife of Pompey; Julia, daughter of Julius Cæsar, wife of Pompey; Tullia, daughter of Cicero, wife of Lentulus. Three deaths in childbirth, in the biographies of nine men, are a high percentage.

In the Italian Renaissance death in childbed became a frequent and familiar incident in the same class of society, and at the same period of time that genius begins to appear. "Records in the trader's diaries of death in childbed recur frequently and make sad reading." But "it was some consolation to an expectant mother to know that if she died in childbed, her child was certain of a brilliant career." (Boulting, *Women in Italy*, Chap. VIII.) In modern times, and in those classes of society where an augmented nervous organization produces occasional examples of genius, childbirth has become an exceedingly difficult, dangerous, and sometimes fatal event requiring the most

[1] Shakespeare ascribes the same supernatural birth to Macduff. "Despair they charm; and let the angel whom thou still hast served tell thee, Macduff was from his mother's womb untimely ript." *Macbeth*, Act V, Scene VIII.

skilful medical attendance. Its pains and labor are protracted for hours, and anesthesia in one form or another has been resorted to for the mother's relief.

There is much ancient testimony to an early observation of mankind that women of high nervous organization are sexually cold and bear children with difficulty and danger. Included in this testimony there may be cited the dream of Joseph whose mother died in her second childbed, and who told his father and brethren that they should all bow down before him; the myth of Circe, which showed the Homeric belief that mating with ardent women who invited easy and promiscuous intercourse, would beget an inferior posterity and turn men into swine; and the belief repeated over and over again in distant lands and different ages, that genius was born of a virgin. The persistent repetition of this belief in a supernatural or immaculate conception, is strong testimony to the impression of "spiritual virginity" invariably attaching to the mothers of supermen. Human experience long ago divined a fact which science puts into the brief formula:

Natural mating, natural birth, natural man.

Supernatural mating, supernatural birth, superman.

131. Still further evidence of the fact that the compulsory maternity of cold women promotes the growth of genius in a group, is afforded by history, and should be here cited. Marriage customs which continue for generation after generation to make cold women fruitful, should, in a rising civilization, lead to an increase and diffusion of genius throughout the group. In those three civilizations which were founded on monogamous marriage, and grew slowly through the continuous accretion of sexual coldness, evidence of this truth is to be found. Among the Greeks who followed Athenian marriage customs, the diffusion of genius in the fifth century B.C. has been already noticed.

After the strict monogamous marriage of early Rome had extended from the patriciate to other orders of the Roman populace, a marked increase of ability, leadership,

and genius followed. Instead of being confined to the patriciate, great talents arose among the plebeians. Ability was so widespread, that the Romans could change their commanders each year, settle the question of command and government by drawing lots and still put into the field military leaders excelling those of any of their enemies.

In England, following the Reformation, when Christian piety and the strict morals of family life had increased the propagation of sexual coldness through various extensive groups, the resulting diffusion of genius is very plain. In the governing classes, the custom of buying and selling commissions in the army and navy was, on the face of it, almost as unwise as the Roman selection of commanders by lot; yet the proportion of ability throughout the "governing classes" (these were in succession the groups which enforced maternity upon their cold women) was so great that England continued for two centuries to command a high place as a military and naval power. Outside the governing classes, like evidence is found in the enormous growth of science, invention, enterprise, commerce, exploration, conquest, and settlement of new lands. Young men, sprung from nowhere, are found suddenly leading armies to victory, adding to the sum of human knowledge, or sailing boats against wind and tide. In all these instances the diffusion of genius marks an upward growth of civilization in the group.

132. When decline begins, the process should be reversed. Genius should no longer be widely diffused. As the marriage customs which enforce maternity upon cold women fall into abeyance and disuse, the number of geniuses should diminish; but it should also follow by mathematical law that while genius tended to concentrate in a few, those few would be greater geniuses than any that had preceded them. In the families in which they would be born the surviving minority of cold women would still be fruitful. Since the nervous organization is augmented with each successive cold genetrix, the most brilliant

geniuses of the group should be displayed just before genius begins to fail altogether. This would be mathematically certain; and there is abundant evidence that it has taken place in each group.

In Israel, after the bondage in Egypt, genius concentrated itself in one family—Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, of the tribe of Levi. The evidence is that these three—brothers and sister—were endowed with a nervous organization much superior to that of the rest of Israel. An inherited sexual coldness is inferable also from the fact that Miriam never married.

In Greece, the widest diffusion of genius was in the fifth century B.C., when Galton reckons fourteen geniuses born in Athens alone. A century later, it is evident that genius was less diffused but rose higher. In the fourth century B.C., Demosthenes was the only Athenian genius, and found it impossible to rouse the spirit of the people against Philip. But Hellenic blood in this century gave birth to Aristotle, Euclid, and Alexander the Great. In these three, genius is found reaching a greater height than in the preceding century, though the number of geniuses is fewer.

In Carthage, the extent and diffusion of genius at an earlier period is unknown; although the strength of the city, the extent of Phœnician conquest and commerce, and the Phœnician alphabet, are evidence that earlier genius was not wanting. In Hannibal's time, it is evident that the production of genius had been reduced to a single family connection—Hannibal, Hanno, Hamilcar, Hamilcar Barca. Hannibal was the greatest genius of his time, either in Carthage or elsewhere. But when his services were no longer available, all competent leadership vanished, and Carthage perished.

In the third century B.C., when Carthaginian genius was concentrating in one brilliant incarnation, Roman genius was, in each generation, growing more diffused. Rome in the last Punic war was able to avail herself of more competent leadership than in the first. Genius was more widely

diffused in the patrician order, and was extending to the equestrian order. A century after the fall of Carthage the diffusion of genius in the Roman patriciate stopped. The senate became cowardly, venal, and corrupt. The towering genius of Julius Cæsar appeared in accordance with mathematical law; and equally so the genius of Octavianus, of the same blood through the female line. Octavianus' mother was the niece, his grandmother the sister, his great-grandmother the mother of Julius Cæsar. In this female strain, the compulsory maternity of cold women continued from one to three generations longer than in most of the patriciate. Where it had been discontinued, the patrician order no longer produced genius at all; where it was continued, genius rose to its greatest height.

CHAPTER XII

PRIVATE PROPERTY

133. That lower nervous organizations are more prolific than higher nervous organizations is a universal biological truth attested by positive evidence and inferable from the vast differentiation of species. It is a truth decreed by mathematical law; since, if higher nervous organizations were more prolific than lower, the latter could not exist. This truth extends to human kind. It is not the whole science of civilization, but it is a constant factor which must be always reckoned with and never forgotten.

As between prolific women who bear easily, without pain or danger, children with small heads, and cold women having an augmented nervous organization, who bear offspring only with great labor, pain, and danger, it is plain that mathematical law gives to the former a perennial and constant advantage over the latter in respect to the number of her descendants. Other things being equal, the Leah who bears seven children with ease and avidity, would, at all times and all places, people the earth instead of the Rachel who bears only two children and dies in travail. The reader may choose to compute the numerical difference, in seven generations, between the descendants of women as prolific as Leah, and the descendants of women of the type of Rachel. Such figures, however, would still be false; for cold women typified by Rachel can be preserved only when they form a group sufficiently numerous to maintain their strain without continuous crossing on the female side by the ardent type of Leah. But, if the offspring of both continue for some generations to multiply in the proportion

of seven descendants of Leah to two of Rachel, the type of Rachel will cease to bear any numerical proportion, however small, to the type of Leah. It will not be as two to seven, or as four to forty-nine, or as eight to three hundred and forty-three. Other conditions being equal, and fecundity the sole factor affecting the number of descendants, the type of Rachel will be extinguished altogether. In a marine environment, where such equality exists, mathematical law long ago accomplished the expected result. Codfish, herrings, salmon, sturgeon, oysters, and the other denizens of the great deep, yield eggs by the millions and millions because for countless ages the perfect equality of other factors has forbidden any but the most prolific to survive.[1]

Since the rise of civilization is due to the birth and increase of augmented nervous organizations; and since these can be born only to the group of women who are least prolific; it would seem at first blush as though civilization could not rise at all. Mathematical law would seem to decree on land, as in the sea, the increase and multiplication of the most prolific—those who bear children with smaller heads. Most human history testifies to the numerical advantages of fecundity. The periods of time are short, and the areas of the globe are small, that have witnessed the numerical increase of augmented nervous organizations. The history of the greatest numbers of mankind, occupying much the largest area of the globe, for much the longest period of time, is simply a history of the numerical advantage and continuous triumph of the most prolific. It is only in rising civilizations that mathematical law seems for the time being to be reversed; and history records for a few generations a marvellous increase of augmented nervous organizations, offspring of the least prolific women. It is clear that the apparently miraculous increase of the least prolific is in fact

[1] The still lower nervous organizations of the insect world are even more prolific. It has been computed that one pair of flies from May 1st to September 30th may breed by successive generation as many as 4,000,000,000,000,000,000 descendants.

due to mathematical law; and that in rising civilizations there will be found factors that offset the numerical advantage enjoyed by prolific women by equal or superior advantages enjoyed by the offspring of cold women.

134. It is evident that factors capable of offsetting the numerical advantages of fecundity must be as constant, perennial, and powerful as fecundity itself. The observed results cover large groups in different parts of the world over long periods of time. In each of these groups, and throughout all these periods, fecundity was sleepless and effective. If the opposing factors paused for any appreciable duration, or were, at any time, less effective, a numerical advantage at once passed to fecundity. What historical facts actually show, in rising civilizations, is a continuous decline of sexual prowess and rise of spiritual stature; warranting the inference that the factors promoting the survival of the latter were at all times stronger than those favoring the former.

The pages of history enable the impartial investigator to ascertain and declare these factors: They are private property, and alcoholic temptation. Neither of these, nor both together, raise civilization, or prevent ts decline. They cease to perform their beneficent selection in every group which ceases to enforce maternity upon its cold women—that is, in declining civilizations. But, in rising civilizations, the manner of their operation is plainly seen. Without them the competition between cold and ardent women would be surely lost by the least prolific. With the aid of private property and alcoholic temptation, it may be continued until they resign the contest. These factors fulfill the requirements demanded by mathematical law, viz., that they must be limited to the land, to human kind, and to civilization; and they must be as constant, perennial, and powerful as fecundity. No other factor equally fulfilling these requirements can be found except, perhaps, war. But war is carried on between opposing groups; therefore, while it is a powerful factor in determining which of these groups shall survive, it

fails to act with the same continuous and beneficent selection in determining, within a group, which of its own members shall survive.[1]

135. That the institution of private property has been an invariable accompaniment of the rise of civilization, is a well attested fact. The extent to which social groups have, in the past, been supported by community property, is almost unknown. The degree of civilization necessary to hand down to posterity written history is not attained by such groups.[2] The earliest records of mankind's first steps toward civilization indicate the possession of property by patriarchs or clans, and the distribution of its use or produce according to social distinction rather than private ownership. The patriarch himself, his immediate family, descendants and entourage receive what they desire for their support. The remainder is awarded to the servants or slaves who herd the cattle, and till the fields. The ruler of the clan or tribe is fed, clothed and equipped at the expense of such sacrifice, in time of dearth, as may be required of the lower orders. So that, in both these states of society, nature, if its bounty keeps pace with the increase of population, affords equal sustenance to all the commonalty; and, in time of

[1] War is the means whereby a smaller group of higher nervous organizations overcome a larger group of lower nervous organizations. Voting reaches an opposite result. To cite a specific instance, there was never a time in the conquest of India when the British did not outfight the Indians, and there was never a time when the Indians could not have outvoted the British. The victories of Romans over Gauls for four centuries teach the same lesson. Except for war, there would not now be a Frenchman in France, an Englishman in England, or a white man in America.

[2] "Except in the singular institutions of Sparta, the wisest legislators have disapproved an agrarian law as a false and dangerous innovation." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XLIV). It is significant of the comparative intellectual development of Sparta and Athens that knowledge of Spartan institutions is derived entirely from Athenian writers. No Spartan literature has been transmitted to posterity, and no Spartan has written the history of Sparta, much less of Athens.

scarcity, afflicts them with privation which their rulers do not share. The individual *private* ownership of separate property, enabling one among the commonalty to acquire, save, and increase possessions, which, in time of scarcity, he may withhold from his neighbors and enjoy solely for himself, does not, in these social organizations, exist.

The institution of slavery was similar to patriarchal or clan organizations of society. Slaves were fed, clothed, and housed by their master, after he had fed, clothed and housed himself. Neither effort, forbearance, nor virtue on the part of the individual slave enabled him to acquire or accumulate property, which in time of dearth might support him, while his fellow slaves starved. The master's means or bounty afforded to all his dependents an equal sustenance, or enforced upon them an equal abstinence. No inequality of talent, enterprise, skill or industry could alter this distribution or affect the slave's possessions, and no inequality of inheritance could be transmitted to his children.

Thus, a most striking fact of early human history is the entire equality to which the greatest numbers of mankind were raised or reduced. Whatever spiritual growth may be created, fostered, increased and continued by equality of goods, may be supposed long ago to have been attained by the vast multitudes, who, for thousands of years, were benefited or afflicted by such equality. It is significant that the spiritual stature of mankind during all this period continuously remained low. A superhuman intelligence, viewing the results of social and economic equality as they appeared, say, three thousand years ago, would doubtless have pronounced judgment, on the evidence then before him, that for the spiritual improvement of the human race, the experiment of an equal distribution of a common property had proved a failure. And that, while unequal distribution might not prove a success, it ought to be tried.

136. The institution of private ownership of property was well adapted for the trial of the new experiment of un-

equal distribution. Although slavery would still remain, freemen would be created; and, as the numbers of freemen increased, each entitled to acquire, own, and hold property against all the world, including his own government or ruler; and to barter, sell, buy, trade, transmit, and inherit property with lawful recognition of his rights; so likewise would the number of members of a new group or commonalty increase —a group in which possessions would be won or lost, increased or diminished, by causes and principles unrelated to its headship, ruler or government; and in which the distribution and accumulation of property would be governed by the individual's circumstances and mentality, rather than by his needs.

The experiment of private property has now been extensively tried—always, until recent centuries, impaired by the institutions of slavery, of feudalism, of church and of government. Allowing, however, for these defects, it is still clear that much evidence is obtainable, and that a reasonable judgment may be fairly formed, with respect to the influence which private property exerts on the spiritual stature of man and hence on civilization. History affords material, not only for a comparative view of the respective institutions of private and community property, but also for a rational judgment of the absolute effect of private property upon mankind.

The importance of property is sufficiently attested by the increasing wealth and accumulation which is observed invariably attendant upon rising civilization. Prolific women of low nervous organization bear children as easily and numerously in poverty as in wealth. Cold women of high nervous organization are so nearly incapacitated by pregnancy and child-birth that, unless they are spared all other labors, they cannot bear children at all;—continued poverty, generation after generation, extinguishes their type. Hence a society which is established on religious, social, or domestic customs which impress cold women for motherhood, must and does provide, for compulsory mothers, means that will

lighten their labors other than the labor of child-bearing. For them propagation is so huge a travail that they can bear no other heavy burdens.

137. *Private* property, exercises a function of peculiar beneficence apart from "property" in its general sense. Mankind has ever divided *mortals* from its conception of *immortals*. Mortality is ascribed to the race of men, immortality to gods. Between these two, however, there is yet another class capable of holding property. This class I shall call "demortal" to signify that while it is shorter lived than a god, it is yet longer lived than individual man. To this class, belong the human institutions of groups—the state, city, municipality, church, or charitable foundation. Each of these may and does outlive a man. It has been demortalized, not to enjoy eternal life, but endowed with something more than the life of man. Property held by such an institution or group is public property; it is in the possession of a demortal; and as generations of men are born and die, it does not pass from one to another, but remains a demortal possession.

Private property is possessed by mortals. Daily, perennially, in every year, decade, and generation, it changes its ownership because of death. Like money, it is ambulatory in its character, constantly going from one hand to another. No one has ever more than a qualified possession and a transitory use of it, to be cut off it may be at any time, it must be at some time. Regardless of whether it is bartered or exchanged, bought or sold, all the private property of a nation is, by death alone, transferred to new ownership on the average of three times in every century.

It is this characteristic of private property—the fact that it is always possessed by *mortals*—that makes it so powerful a factor to offset that numerical advantage of prolific women which otherwise would, with mathematical certainty, secure for them a permanent numerical superiority. In every rising civilization, property has been a potent factor in the ability to bear and rear offspring to maturity. At the command of

death, private property is being continually discarded by its mortal possessors and awarded to new ownership. As its change of ownership goes on sleeplessly, unbrokenly, incessantly, through all time, its new owners are invariably found in the group whose women bear children with larger heads, i.e. in the group which impresses maternity upon cold women of augmented nervous organization. Without property, such a group cannot successfully propagate or maintain its numbers or even exist. For property it has a keen and unerring instinct. *Private* property serves its purpose best. Always and everywhere this group will be found acquiring, saving, and accumulating mortal possessions; and transmitting to its posterity more property than it received from its progenitors. It is the acquisitiveness of this group, born of its desperate and vital need to avoid extinction, and it is this alone, which creates the enormous accretions of wealth invariably found in rising civilizations. Against the desperate needs of this group for its own existence, the proletariat, or offspring of prolific mothers wage war in vain. Hence, wherever property exercises a potent influence on numbers; if it is a *mortal* possession, i.e. *private* property; then it will be found exercising this influence toward the increase and multiplication of that group which enforces maternity upon its cold women of high nervous organization, and against that group which is born to ardent and prolific women of low nervous organization. Hence, also, in those conditions of fertile soil and mild climate, where private possession of property is least indispensable for propagation, civilization exhibits less vitality than under harsher conditions which make private property necessary for existence.

138. Just as private property is necessary to the increase of a group of augmented nervous organization, so intellectual ascendancy is necessary to the growth and increase of private property. The manner in which intellectual ascendancy and private property are invariably yoked, appear, disappear, rise, and fall together, is one of the most interest-

ing evidences of mathematical truth which history affords. Where women receive a common support from common property, shared equally by all members of the community, the chief, perhaps the only, factor in determining the character of posterity is sexual prowess. All other things being made equal, or as nearly equal as possible, posterity will be descended from those women who can bear the most children. Whenever the numbers of the community are reduced by a common disaster which afflicts all alike, its numbers will be most quickly replenished by those women who are most prolific. Afflictions which are not common and are not shared alike, but which destroy greater numbers of some classes of the community than of others, introduce a new factor in the survival of posterity. There will be some who survive because their numbers were less reduced than the numbers of others; so that fecundity alone ceases to be the sole controlling factor in determining the character of posterity.

In past ages, the chief of those unequal afflictions which have reduced the numbers of a community, has been famine. So long as property was enjoyed in common, by the followers of a patriarch, the members of a clan, the subjects of an oriental despot or the slaves of a master, scarcity was felt by all alike. The institution of private property—the acknowledgment of the right of its owner to withhold its enjoyment and possession from all others—changed famine from an equal and common affliction to an unequal affliction, reducing the numbers of a part of the community but not of all. Even if inequality of possessions were established solely by chance, or by inheritance, or by the advantage of a small family over a large one, or by other factors not directly related to the intellectual attainments of the possessor, it must still have a marked effect upon the character of posterity, because of necessity it forbids that character to be determined by sexual prowess alone.

But it is a "group fact" that the continued possession of private property is in general an indication of some intellec-

tual superiority. This is especially true where there are considerable temptations to drunkenness, gluttony and other self-destructive vice. The continued possession of private property in the midst of such temptations, is evidence that its possessors have a measure of intellectual control over their appetites; since, if they yielded to temptations, they would soon squander their property in the pursuit of such vices. It is, likewise, some evidence of the intellectual power of the possessor to resist the threats or blandishments of a priesthood; since priests will more often get property away from the weakminded than from the strongminded. There have been no civilizations enjoying the continued practice of monogamous marriage and the institution of private property, in which there have not been at the same time temptations to indulgence in gluttony and vice; and few that have not added solicitations to the support of temples. So that, in all civilizations, the continued possessors of private property have displayed some power to resist temptation, some intellectual mastery of their emotions, and some quality other than sexual prowess to affect the character of posterity.

139. In the acquisition, saving, and accumulation of private property otherwise than by inheritance, good fortune, or thrift, intellect enjoys an equal scope. In all civilizations, where private property has become an established institution, it has been transferable by barter, sale, or other contract between living persons, as well as from the dying. In these contracts—in the adventure of trade and commerce, in the ingenuity or skill of manufacture, or in the industry and enterprise of artisans—intellect enjoys an enormous field, wherein it can seize many advantages, and put beyond the reach of want not only its immediate possessor but his descendants for many generations. Here is a direct advantage which private property gives to intellect over fecundity. Community property rewards sexual prowess alone, and gradually fills the land with the descendants of the most prolific mothers. Private property

rewards intellect. It does not rob sexual prowess of all its advantage, but it tends to equalize the terms of the contest. From being the sole factor, fecundity becomes but one factor in fixing the character of posterity. The ability of intellect to seize wealth, and to withhold from the descendants of prolific women some part of the necessaries of life, arms the less numerous intellectuals with weapons that enable them to hold their own. It is noticeable that under the institution of private property the numbers of the poor do not for any very long time sensibly diminish. Prolific women usually tend to multiply posterity up to the limit of subsistence. But whereas, in community property, their offspring alone survive, under the institution of private property there is a perceptible addition of intellect. The "middle classes," descendants of intellectual ancestors, and ancestors of intellectual descendants, are found where the institution of private property exists, and there alone. Without enjoying the inherited lands of rulers or the inherited fecundity of serfs, they hold their place by the ability of intellect to seize part of the possessions of both.

140. The psychological identity of the institutions of private property and of monogamous marriage is apparent. In monogamy, each woman who is made a mother in lawful marriage has a strong sense of ownership in her husband. By law, custom, and religion, the marriage ceremony confers upon the monogamous wife an office from which she can, during her life, exclude all others of her sex. Those prime elements of the sense of private property—the right to withhold something from others, the right of sole possession,—possession and enjoyment by acknowledged right and not by sufferance or favor—are given to women only when they are united to men in ceremonial marriage in a monogamous country. In such a marriage, the wife and mother has a strong feeling of property right. Her husband, the father of her children, belongs to her. The abundance of his inheritance, the fruits of his labors, the renown of his name, the titles or honors bestowed upon him, belong of right to her

and to her children, and can be lawfully shared by no other woman. This sense of property right in the husband exists only in a wife united to him by ceremonial monogamous marriage.

Polygamous marriage, and unceremonial unions, or concubinage, do not create for women any exclusive right, or any sense of property in the father of their children. The polygamous wife knows that she belongs to her husband, but can not feel that her husband belongs solely to her. She enjoys no exclusive possession, no rights which she can withhold from others, no title which another woman can not equally share with equal right. Even though her husband actually takes no other wife, his lawful right to do so clouds her exclusive title, and forbids her ever to feel her possession of him as more than a right of community property, which she may lawfully be compelled to share with others.

Finally, in both monogamous and polygamous marriage the dower brought by wife to husband, the payment made by the husband to the bride's father, or the property settlements of whatever kind involved in the marriage, tend to give a property value to the ceremonial union. Marriage transfers property, and gives to its new possessor a good and lawful title.

141. In concubinage, or non-ceremonial unions, such a transfer does not take place. The relation of the concubine to the father of her children is primarily only sexual. She shares neither his name, rank, nor wealth; she brings no dowry, receives no marriage settlement, creates no property rights or obligations, and is not endowed of her paramour's lands or goods. Whatever provision custom may allow, or law enforce, for the support of herself or her children is usually exacted by government or society for the ulterior motive of preventing her or her offspring from becoming a burden upon the State. Exclusive property rights beyond what is necessary for her bare support are not awarded to her. Still more are "rights" absent from her sexual union. The polygamous wife occupies a position which she may be law-

fully required to share equally with another. The concubine may be condemned to yield not only an equal, but even a greater share in her consort's sexual possession, to another woman. For he may take another concubine in common with her; or he may desert her and take another in her place; or lastly, he may abandon concubinage altogether and take a wife. So that, in this respect, she is not only consciously deprived of the sense of "rights," but she knows that her position is impermanent, that she enjoys no "possession" at all, and that by marriage to another, her paramour may bestow upon a wife and children all that has been denied to her—lawful rights, a permanent relation, and a true title to possession.

142. Hence, in monogamy, posterity is continuously descended from fathers and mothers each of whom feels, claims, and exercises a sense of exclusive possession in the other partner to the marriage. In polygamy, this is at once qualified. All the fathers in polygamous marriage feel, claim, and exercise the right of exclusive possession in the mothers; the mothers in polygamous marriage enjoy and claim, not an exclusive right in the fathers, but a common right which they may be required to share with other lawful wives. In non-ceremonial unions, or concubinage, mothers enjoy no rights at all, either exclusive or common. They are tenants at will only, and may be divested of their tenancy at any time when marriage rights are created for another woman.

These various relations affect, to a commanding degree, the posterity of these unions, in respect to their sense of property rights. The descendant of a long series of monogamous marriages can count all his ancestors of both sexes as claiming and enjoying rights of exclusive possession in their married partners. The descendant of a long line of polygamous marriages can count only his male ancestors as claiming such rights. All his genetrices have claimed and enjoyed only a community right, and not an exclusive right, in their husbands. The descendant of a long line of non-

ceremonial unions counts all his genetrices as being only tenants at will, enjoying no rights exclusive or common, holding their possessions on sufferance and liable to be divested at any moment. From this ancestry, there is, therefore, bred into the posterity of monogamous marriage a strong sense of private property—of the right to withhold something from others, the right to sole possession,—possession and enjoyment by acknowledged right and not by sufferance or at will. This sense of private property and of exclusive possession is observable in its highest degree only in monogamous countries. It is seen greatly diminished in polygamous countries; and it probably exists in hardly any degree whatever among the descendants of promiscuous unions. Moreover, it can be seen to vary as marriage customs vary, to rise as marriage customs approach the exclusiveness of monogamy, and to decline with the growth of polygamy and concubinage. This variation occurs among the same people at different periods of their history.

143. The conclusions reached *a priori* in the foregoing paragraphs are confirmed by an examination of the historical evidence:

I. Polygamous peoples generally:

In Asia, it has long been established that private property exists only by the will and sufferance of the ruler. Ancient writers declared that private property in land did not exist; that the title to all the lands of the Asiatics was vested in the ruler; and that the occupant tilled the soil for the benefit of the ruler. (Strabo, Dionysius Halicarnassus.)

"The whole of the territory belongs to the King. They cultivate it on the terms of receiving as wages a fourth part of the produce." (Strabo, *India*, Book XV., Chap. I, 40.)

Modern writers have disputed this, and have maintained that the sovereign owned not the land, but only the land tax. The difference is a quibble. A conveyance of the rents and profits of land is a conveyance of the land itself, "for what is the land but the profit thereof?" Peasants who are bound

to the soil, who occupy it, till it, and gain their whole livelihood from it, are nevertheless correctly described as "landless" if they surrender to landlord or tax gatherer so great a part of the soil's products that only a bare livelihood is left for themselves.

Under the Mohammedan rulers of India, before the British occupation, "In Bengal the land tax was fixed at over ninety per cent of the rental and in northern India at over eighty per cent of the rental." The Mohammedan rulers claimed more than they could fully realize. (*Economic History of India*, R. Dutt, C. I. E. preface.)

Moreland says, "Nuniz states definitely that the peasants paid nine-tenths to the nobles who paid one-half of what they received to the emperor," and quotes the statement of de Laet that the Mogul authorities took nearly three-fourths of the gross produce "leaving only one-fourth for the wretched peasants, so that they sometimes received nothing in return for their labor and expenditure." He is inclined to question the accuracy of these proportions on the ground that they are impossible, but acknowledges that they may have occasionally approximated to the "nearly three-fourths" of the produce given by de Laet. (*India at the Death of Akbar*, Chap. IV, pp. 98, 134.)[1] The Mogul was the heir of all his subjects. "So far as the wealth could be traced, it reverted, in Northern India at least, to the Treasury when its owner died." (Chap. VII, p. 262.)

It was not unusual for oriental despots to make in set terms a claim not only to the ownership of all land, but to the ownership of all property whatsoever.

"Kublai Khan prohibited all species of gambling and other modes of cheating, to which the people of this country are addicted more than any other people upon earth; and as an argument for deterring them from the practice, he says

[1] It is interesting to observe in India under Akbar exactly the same incidents of spy government and absence of private property recounted sixteen centuries earlier by Strabo. Low nervous organizations are fungible, and do not change with time.

to them (in his edict), 'I subdued you by the power of my sword, and consequently whatever you possess belongs of right to me: if you gamble, therefore, you are sporting with my property.'" (*Travels of Marco Polo*, Bk. II, Chap. XXVI.)

The Grand Khan also gradually accumulated all the gold current in his dominions by the process of issuing paper currency, which he forced his subjects to accept as legal tender. (*Ibid.*, Chap. XVII.)

That is, the sovereign, as possessor of all property, fixed, at his own will, the portion which should be paid to him; the common people enjoyed what was left. The sovereign's forbearance might treat his subjects generously; or his greed might claim, as the Mohammedan rulers did, more than could actually be obtained. In either case, the subject enjoyed no "right" to withhold property from his sovereign. Property rights existed only between subjects; not between subject and ruler.

In Egypt, a like situation was created by the policy of Joseph. The land of the peasants was bought, and the title thereto vested in Pharaoh the king. The people became servants under Pharaoh; seed was furnished to them, and they tilled the land, on condition that a fifth part of the produce should be paid to the government. (Genesis XLVII: 14–26.) From the death of Pharaoh until the British occupation, the condition of the Egyptian fellaheen did not greatly vary. Whoever ruled the land, the principle was established that private property could not be withheld from the government.

In Europe, the civilization attained by the polygamous Celts was marked by the same concentration of property in the hands of the rulers. Mommsen quotes from Greek travellers the following account of the magnificent state maintained by Luerius, King of the Arvernians:

"Surrounded by his brilliant train of clansmen, his huntsmen with their pack of hounds in leash and his band of

wandering minstrels, he travelled in a silvermounted chariot through the towns of his kingdom, scattering the gold with a full hand among the multitude, and gladdening above all the heart of the minstrel with the glittering shower. The description of the open table which he kept in an enclosure of 1500 double paces square, and to which every one who came in the way was invited, vividly remind us of the marriage-table of Camacho. In fact, the numerous Arvernian gold coins of this period still extant show that the canton of the Arvernians had attained to extraordinary wealth and a comparatively high standard of civilization." (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Bk. IV, Chap. V.)

The place described above is near Auvergne, France; the time two centuries before Christ. The psychical affinity between the state maintained by this Celtic monarch in western Europe, and the state maintained by Asiatic or Egyptian despots, is apparent. In all cases, the sovereign, ruling a people whose domestic usages admit polygamy or concubinage, finds in time little resentment at the denial of property rights.

144. II. The Jews:

In the patriarchal age, Jacob's domestics, servants, and herdsmen shared in common the produce that Jacob and his family spared to them. Separate possession of private property on the part of the commonalty was unknown. Famine was an affliction suffered equally by all. In Egypt, after the death of Joseph, the Hebrews were held in bondage, and their tasks and rations allotted to them by the government. Marriage, if it remained, lost its economic significance, and the Hebrew women bore children out of matrimony with the same security for their offspring's support that would be enjoyed by children born in wedlock. The thievish traits which are always engendered in a posterity born in bondage became noticeable in the Hebrews at this time; and a naïve account is given of how they "spoiled the Egyptians." (Exodus XII: 35–36.) During their wanderings in the wilderness, they were likewise fed on rations. Their spiritual decline was marked by idolatry, and they

made and worshipped a golden calf. Moses, furious, separated those who could worship an invisible God from the idolators, and slew the latter—three thousand men. By this massacre, the strain of posterity was vastly improved.

The improved strain, arrived in Canaan, established, and for a considerable period maintained, the institution of private property. The land was divided, and allotments were made to the several tribes and to the individuals of the tribes. In the story of Ruth and Boaz, private property is found at its best. There were rich and poor. Unequal possessions made it possible for the less prolific women to preserve their strain in posterity against the more prolific. The Tribe of Benjamin became monogamous, and out of that tribe rose Saul, "the goodliest man in all Israel," born of a rich family.

The institution of private property, highly regarded by the Hebrews of the Book of Judges and the Book of Ruth, gradually declined as polygamy continuously affected the strain of posterity. In Solomon's reign, the relations be-between king and people had become thoroughly Asiatic. The land was drained to provide a vast magnificence for the government, the court, the temple and the king. Nine chapters of the Book of Kings are exhausted in describing the glory and grandeur of his reign, his house, his temple, his harem, his stables, his feasts, the daily provision for his household, the number of his workmen, and the greatness of his works. In a small land of much poverty, Solomon slew 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep for a feast to all the people.

"On the eighth day he sent the people away; and they blessed the king and went under their tents joyful and glad of heart for all the goodness that the Lord had done for David, his servant, and for Israel his people." (I Kings, VIII, 66.)

The twelfth chapter of Kings shows the next reign. To Solomon's successor the children of Israel say:

"Thy father made our yoke grievous; now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee." (I Kings, XII, 4.)

Rehoboam replied:

"My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. And now whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." (*Ibid.*, 10–11.)

In only three reigns—Saul, David, Solomon—the children of Israel passed from the vigorous simplicity delineated in Judges, Ruth, and Samuel, at which times private property was highly regarded and every man secure in his possessions against the government, to the true relation which polygamous people always bear to their rulers. The laudation of Solomon is in the usual style of oriental princes whose wisdom and magnificence are praised so long as they live; but it belongs to polygamy everywhere and not in the Orient alone. The story of Solomon's table and of his feasts might pass for the table and feasts of Luerius, King of the Arvernians, quoted above. In China, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine and Gaul, under varying climates, different skies and widely separated races of people, polygamy has created the same ideal of government;—a government that owns the land it rules, from whom no private property can be withheld, and whose subjects are bidden to subsist on what the king can spare. All bounty comes from him. Nothing can be withheld from him.

145. III. The Hellenes:

The laws of Lycurgus established in Sparta an equality of property unknown to the rest of Greece.

"He redistributed the whole territory belonging to Sparta, as well as the remainder of Laconia; the former in 9000 equal lots, one to each Spartan citizen: the latter in 30,000 equal lots, one to each periotus. Moreover, he banished

the use of gold and silver money, tolerating nothing in the shape of circulating medium but pieces of iron, heavy and scarcely portable, and he forbade to the Spartan citizen every species of industrious or money-seeking occupation, agriculture included." (Grote, *History of Greece*, Part II, Chap. VI.)

He established the syssitia, or public mess.

"From boyhood to old age every Spartan citizen took his sober meals at this public mess, where all shared alike; nor was distinction of any kind allowed, except on signal occasions of service rendered by the individual to the State." (*Ibid.*)

This community of property was accompanied by a modified community of women; licensed expeditions for thieving; and an extremely stunted spiritual growth, so that the Spartans after many generations were the least intellectual of all the Hellenes. See the following evidence.

"To bring together the finest couples was regarded by the citizens as desirable, and by the law-giver as a duty. No personal feeling or jealousy on the part of the husband found sympathy from anyone—and he permitted without difficulty, sometimes actively encouraged, compliances on the part of his wife consistent with this generally acknowledged object. So far was such toleration carried that there were some married women who were recognized mistresses of two houses and mothers of two distinct families." (*Ibid.*)

"In Sparta, marital jealousy was a sentiment neither indulged nor recognized—while in Athens it was intense and universal." (*Ibid.*)

"The nourishment supplied to the youthful Spartans was purposely kept insufficient, but they were allowed to make up the deficiency not only by hunting, but even by stealing whatever they could lay hands upon, provided they could do so without being detected in the act; in which latter case they were severely chastised." (*Ibid.*)

"And it is to be observed that the Spartan mind continued to be cast on the old-fashioned scale and unsusceptible of modernizing influences, longer than that of most other people of Greece." (*Ibid.*)

Thus, it appears that, in Sparta, there was established an equal division of property, which was maintained for many generations by the strictest laws designed to prevent the smarter or more ambitious citizens from acquiring greater possessions than their neighbors. All the men were fed on rations by the State, and shared equally. The impairment of the right of possession of private property was accompanied by an equal impairment of the right of exclusive possession of husbands in their wives. Stealing was not, although detection was, considered a punishable crime. The Spartans never attained an intellectual development equal to the rest of Greece. It was in Attica, the home of jealous husbands and of established institutions of private property and of rich and poor, and which contained the greatest number of freemen who could own, acquire, keep, lose, withhold and transmit property, that the Greek intellect reached its height.

146. IV. Rome.

At the founding of Rome, monogamy and private property went hand in hand. Both institutions were there preserved in greater perfection and for a longer time than in any other ancient state. In the century before Christ, the ancient severity of Roman marriage had broken down among the aristocracy of the city. It was succeeded by freedom of divorce and a freedom of association between the sexes which Ferrero rightly designates as "free love." In this class of society, the sense of private property rights was demolished, as monogamous marriage had been demolished. First Sulla, and then Octavianus, seized the property of this class, right and left. For a period, a truly Asiatic idea of the rights of government over the property of the governed was established in Rome itself. The period passed. The small circle of aristocrats who practised and submitted to Asiatic tyranny, died for want of heirs. Monogamous marriage still prevailed in the provinces; and for three centuries the growth of Christianity continuously added to the numbers of posterity whose ancestors held

religiously to monogamous marriage as exclusive of all other relations between man and woman. The growth of concubinage among the newer aristocracy, and among the common people of the old religion, was slow. It was not till about 250 A.D. that the rights of private property declined throughout the Empire. At that time, according to Gibbon:

"Every city of the empire was possessed of an independent revenue, destined to purchase corn for the multitude, and to supply the expenses of the games and entertainments. By a single act of authority, the whole mass of wealth was at once confiscated for the use of the Imperial treasury. The temples were stripped of their most valuable offerings of gold and silver, and the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, were melted down and coined into money. These impious orders could not be executed without tumults and massacres, as in many places the people chose to die in the defense of their altars, than to behold in the midst of peace their cities exposed to the rapine and cruelty of war." (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. VII—A.D. 238.)

At this time concubinage had become common.

"From the age of Augustus to the tenth century the use of this secondary marriage prevailed both in the west and east; and the humble virtues of a concubine were often preferred to the pomp and insolence of a noble matron. In this connection, the two Antonines, the best of princes and of men, enjoyed the comforts of domestic love; the example was imitated by many citizens impatient of celibacy, but regardful of their families." (*Ibid.*, Chap. XLIV.)

In the page immediately following the description of Maximin's seizure of the wealth of the Roman cities, Gibbon cites the specific case of Gordianus, who was possessed of twenty-two acknowledged concubines, by each of whom he left three or four children.

A generation after Maximin, Diocletian (284–305) initiated imperial rule on Asiatic principles. This was perfected by Constantine the Great, and at the end of his reign

(A.D. 337) the Empire was firmly established on an Asiatic basis of centralized imperial rule, Asiatic criminal procedure, and Asiatic taxation.

"The sums required for the annual service of the imperial government were immense; and in order to levy as great an amount of revenue from his subjects as possible, Constantine revised the census of all the taxes, and carried their amount as high as he possibly could. Every measure was adopted to transfer the whole circulating medium of the empire annually into the coffers of the State. No economy or industry could enable his subjects to accumulate wealth; while any accident, a fire, an inundation, an earthquake, or a hostile incursion of the barbarians, might leave a whole province incapable of paying its taxes, and plunge it in hopeless debt and ruin." (Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans*, Chap II.)

"In general the outward forms of taxation were very little altered by Constantine, but he rendered the whole fiscal system more regular and more stringent; and during no period was the maxim of the Roman government, that the cultivators of the soil were nothing but the instruments for feeding and clothing the imperial court and the army, more steadily kept in view." (*Ibid.*)

"Time was reckoned from the first year, or Indictio, of the new assessment, and when the cycle of fifteen years was completed, a new revision took place, and a new cycle was commenced; the people thus taking no heed of the lapse of time except by noting the years of similar taxation." (*Ibid.*)

"As the wealth and population of the Roman empire declined, the operation of the municipal system became more oppressive. The chief attention of the imperial governors in the provinces was directed to preventing any diminution in the revenue, and the Roman legislation attempted to enforce the payment of the ancient amount of land-tax and capitation from a declining and impoverished population. Laws were enacted to fix every class of society in its actual condition with regard to the revenue. The son of a member of the curia was bound to take his father's place; the son of a landed proprietor could neither become a tradesman nor a soldier, unless he had a brother who could replace his father as a payer of the land-tax. The son of an artisan was bound to follow his father's profession,

that the amount of the capitation might not be diminished. Every corporation or guild had the power of compelling the children of its members to complete its numbers. Fiscal conservatism became the spirit of Roman legislation. To prevent the land beyond the limits of a municipality from falling out of cultivation, by the free inhabitants of the rural districts quitting their lands in order to better their condition in the towns, the laws gradually attached them to the soil, and converted them into serfs." (*Ibid.*)

"Municipalities henceforward began to be regarded as a burden rather than privilege. Their magistrates formed an aristocratic class in accordance with the whole fabric of the Roman constitution. These magistrates had willingly borne all the burdens imposed on them by the State as long as they could throw the heaviest portion of the load on the people over whom they presided. But the people at last became too poor to lighten the burden of the rich, and the government found it necessary to force every wealthy citizen to enter the curia, and make good any deficiency in the taxes of the district from his own private revenues. As the Roman empire declined, the members of one curia after another sank to the same level of general poverty. (*Ibid.*)

". . . but at the same time, all those privileges which had once alleviated the pressure of the revenue law, in particular districts, were now abolished. The destruction of the great oligarchs, who had rendered themselves proprietors of whole provinces in the earlier days of the Roman domination, was now effected." (*Ibid.*)

"The necessity of preventing the possibility of a falling off in the revenue, was, in the eyes of the imperial court, of as much consequence as the maintenance of the efficiency of the army. Proprietors of land, and citizens of wealth, were not allowed to enroll themselves as soldiers, lest they should escape from paying their taxes; and only those plebeians and peasants who were not liable to the land-tax were taken as recruits." (*Ibid.*)

The evidence is, therefore, that, in Rome, the rights of private property were first impaired in that section of Roman society which had abandoned the ancient severity of Roman monogamous marriage for free divorce and "free love"; that after concubinage had been allowed and widely practiced for about two centuries, the Imperial Government

effected at its will a vast seizure of the private property of municipalities and temples; and that, after three centuries, the relation of the Roman government to its subjects' rights of private property had become thoroughly Asiatic. All the profits, not only of land, but of trade and industry, were annually swept by the tax gatherer into the Imperial coffers. Thereafter, no private citizen was able to increase his wealth and to retain the increase from the government. There was no accumulation of capital for new investment; and whenever the investments of the past were destroyed by time or calamity, they could not be renewed. After Constantine, Rome was an empire without capitalism. There is observed the same slow strangulation of society, the stifling of intellect, the impairment of mental and physical vigor, the complete ascendency of despotism and the change in the character of the population to a submissive people wholly given over to the pleasures of propagation, that is marked in the gibbous civilizations of Asia.

147. V. Christians.

The first Christians, descended from polygamists, had an impaired sense of private property. They established a community, "and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men as every man had need." (Acts II, 44–45.) (See also Acts IV, 34–35.) The religious sanctity which the early and persecuted Christians attached to monogamous marriage soon changed the views of their posterity as to private property and gave them a great advantage over their pagan contemporaries. During the first three centuries after Christ, free association of the sexes was common to all classes of society except Christians. "Free love," divorce by mutual consent, and the practice of concubinage reared among the pagans a posterity like the posterity of polygamists. A sense of ownership or exclusive possession by acknowledged right on the part of each parent toward the other, was unknown. In this age, the religion of the Christians supplied what the laws of the state had abandoned. And the Christian wife,

as well as the Christian husband, was rewarded in Christian marriage by a sense of property right.

The result appeared in their growing wealth. At the beginning of these three centuries, the Christians were the poorest class of the community; so obscure as to be beneath the notice of the haughty Romans. Strict monogamous marriage, contrasted with the laxity around them, gradually diverted into their hands a vast property. At the end of the period, they were the most wealthy and the most respectable of the imperial subjects.

After the end of the fourth century, when sterility instead of marriage was accepted as a divine institution, private property declined among the Christians as formerly it had declined in the pagan empire. The sanctity of marriage and the sanctity of property rights disappeared together. For ten centuries, Christian history presents an unvarying picture of loose marriage customs, concubinage, and destitution. The continent of Europe, an area of vast wealth under pagan Rome, destined to see even greater wealth after the sixteenth century, was, for a thousand years, the abode of Christians who neither produced nor acquired wealth. The soil was occupied, tilled, and its annual harvest was consumed; but no Christian acquired, or saved, or accumulated, or lent wealth. For the latter part of this period, an exception may be made of the Republics of Venice and Genoa which were more avaricious than devout. With these tiny exceptions all Europe's wealth during this period was produced, possessed, invested, and loaned by Moslems and Jews. The sense of private property was still dormant in the Christian mind. Whole nations swept across the land, destroyed or enslaved its old inhabitants, possessed the soil, became Christianized, devout—and thereupon gave half their land into the demortal possession of the Church. For many centuries, Christian history records a seesaw between the secular and sacerdotal power. Devout princes gave their lands to the Church; in a generation or so, a successor, pricked by poverty, plundered the Church; another genera-

tion, and another successor, pricked by remorse, gave back to the Church. Not until the Reformation were religious houses plundered permanently, and the plunder kept in mortal hands.

When strict monogamous marriage was again regarded as a holy institution, the rise of wealth began. It would be expected that, in those lands where the doctrine of religious sterility was repudiated altogether, and "holy" matrimony had no rival as a divine institution, the greatest increase of wealth would be found; and that, in these lands, wealth would be found in the hands of the class where indissoluble monogamous marriage had long been strictly observed. The evidence of history fulfills both expectations. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in nearly every monarchy of Europe, such wealth as existed was confined to the land-owning and princely caste—those who collected rents, or taxes, or both. It was in this century, at the meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII, with the long and gorgeous trains of their great land-owners and great prelates, that there was presented the famous display of wealth on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. All the population that paid rents and taxes was poor. Kings, nobles, and religious houses, when they borrowed, were still obliged to pawn jewels or plate and to borrow from Jews. This century saw the final act for the suppression of concubinage; the final establishment of "holy" matrimony as sacred and indissoluble; and (in Protestant countries) the plunder of religious houses, and the transfer of their lands from demortal to mortal hands.

148. In all three of these particulars, England had some advantage over the Continent. As Roman law was never part of the common law of England, concubinage never received the legal standing awarded to it on the Continent; the Reformation was accomplished, the religious houses plundered, and "holy" matrimony established as sacred and indissoluble by the middle of the sixteenth century. On the Continent, religious wars continued for another century.

Spain lacked all three of these advantages. In that country Roman law had recognized concubinage;—there was no Reformation; the religious sterilization of cold and pious women still continued; and wives could sue in the Spanish courts for divorce.[1] The religious houses were left undisturbed in the possession of their property, while the crown claimed a large part of all the revenues derived from the new world.

The contrast between England and Spain, as they were in the sixteenth century and in the nineteenth century, is instructive.

"The empire of Philip the Second was undoubtedly one of the most powerful and splendid that ever existed in the world. In Europe, he ruled Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands on both sides of the Rhine, Franche Comte, Roussillon, the Milanese, and the Two Sicilies. Tuscany, Parma, and the other small states of Italy, were as completely dependent on him as the Nizam and the Rajah of Berar now are on the East India Company. In Asia, the King of Spain was master of the Philippines and of all those rich settlements which the Portuguese had made on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, in the Peninsula of Malacca, and in the Spice-islands of the Eastern Archipelago. In America, his dominions extended on each side of the equator into the temperate zone. There is reason to believe that his annual revenue amounted, in the season of his greatest power, to a sum near ten times as large as that which England yielded to Elizabeth. He had a standing army of fifty thousand excellent troops, at a time when England had not a single battalion in constant pay. His ordinary naval force consisted of a hundred and forty galleys. He held, what no other prince in modern times has held, the dominion both of the land and of the sea. During the greater part of his reign, he was supreme on both elements. His soldiers marched up to the capital of France; his ships menaced the shores of England.

"It is no exaggeration to say that, during several years, his power over Europe was greater than even that of

[1] See Cervantes' brief comedy *The Divorce Court*. So far as I know this records the earliest Christian divorce cases tried in the secular courts.

Napoleon." (Macaulay's Essays, *War of the Succession in Spain.*)

In Spain, a great part of this vast colonial wealth was public property—claimed as such by the crown. A great part of the nation's domestic wealth was in the hands of the crown or the Church. Its transfer from demortal to mortal hands never took place. In England, the conquests in America and Asia were made by private enterprise and swelled the volume of private wealth. The East India Co., and the Hudson Bay Co., belonged not to the crown, but to its subjects. After Henry VIII had plundered the religious houses and had divided their lands among his favorites, the domestic wealth was mostly in private hands; also, all the accretions of wealth from commerce and trade remained in the hands of mortals. For a period of three centuries there was in these two countries a continuous trial of the difference between public and private ownership of vast possessions. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, their positions were exactly reversed. Riches and power had increased in England as much as they had diminished in Spain.[1]

149. The comparison between England and Spain points to another law which governs the operation of public and private property with mathematical certainty. Public property, possessed by demortals, is unprolific. It may be hoarded; and the hoard may increase as contributions are added to it in the passage of time. In this way, the possessions of an established Church, continuously augmented by the oblations of the faithful, and never spent or dissipated,

[1] Casanova found the Spanish peasantry the poorest in Europe, two ounces of bread and a handful of chestnuts or acorns sufficing a Spaniard for a day. At the same time the Archbishop of Toledo had three hundred thousand douros a year, and his clergy four hundred thousand, amounting to two million francs in French money. The vast property and huge income of the Spanish Church never passed, like private property from mortal to mortal, but remained always in the hands of a demortal institution. Instead of enriching it impoverished the country.

are gradually swelled to vast amounts. The hoarded wealth of princes and dynasties is sometimes great. But the accumulations of demortals are never fruitful. They may be increased by additions, but they do not multiply. Least of all do they enrich posterity; for they are not handed down from ancestor to descendants—from one possessor to several—but remain always in the continuous grasp of a demortal hand. Moral or spiritual changes in the possessor do not affect demortal possessions. The riches bestowed by the pious upon religious houses are still retained after the giver is dead, and piety has departed. State property remains state property despite changes of administration, and its revenues, sufficient for a prudent and economical administration, may be squandered by an extravagant successor. No matter how great its possessions, the expenditures of a state will, in no long period of time, equal or exceed its revenues.

Private property, not possessed by the community as a whole, but owned in severalty by its separate individuals, is characteristically different. Because it is in mortal instead of demortal hands, it must continuously change ownership. In individual cases, every possible variety of change may be seen—from miser to spendthrift, from strict father to dissolute son, from religious ancestor to irreligious descendant, from the bold, the vigorous, and the enterprising, to the timid, weak, and lazy. Mathematical law, however, which governs the group, disregards the evidence of individual cases. If the group is large and the time is long, the transition of private property is mathematically certain. Invariably, it changes from the hands of those who use it ill, to those who use it well. It ceases to be sterile, because those in whose hands it is sterile retain less of it. It multiplies because those in whose hands it is prolific get most of it. Public revenues are invariably spent; private revenues are sometimes saved. Private property, distributed among a vast and ever changing number of mortal owners, will be found in possession of some who spend income and capital,

some who spend income but save capital, and some who save not only capital but a large part of income. The effect on the whole group may be stated with mathematical certainty. The revenue from public property in demortal possession, owned by the community as a whole, will be spent as it comes; the income from private property in mortal possession, owned by the separate individuals of the community, will be partly saved and will enrich posterity. Mortal possession fertilizes private property, makes it fruitful, and enriches posterity with a large part of its gains; demortal possession does not. The wealth accumulated in every nation where private property is held sacred, and the comparative poverty of every nation where it is not, add abundant corroborative evidence of this mathematical truth. History makes clear certain infallible rules whereby to predict a nation's rise to wealth or its fall to poverty. If demortals plunder mortals, the country will become poor, wealth will change from mortal to demortal possession, will lose its fruitfulness, and will no longer multiply. If mortals plunder demortals, the country is on the road to wealth; for property is then taken from demortal possession, where it is unfruitful, and delivered to mortal possession, where it multiplies. For mortals to plunder mortals is a useless economic sin. Mortal possession always ceases by death, and wealth in mortal hands is divested and returned to posterity three times in every century.

150. Civilization rises with the augmentation of the spirit of man; and the function of private property in this rise may be briefly summarized from the evidence as follows:

I. It introduces an important factor other than fecundity, so that it becomes possible for the strain of less prolific women to survive and increase.

II. It allies itself with strict indissoluble monogamous marriage, and thus becomes an important auxiliary to those domestic customs best adapted to augment the nervous organization.

III. Its ownership is always in mortal hands; it passes

continuously from one mortal to another; and in the transition it invariably rewards the group whose intellectual and spiritual ascendancy is greatest.

IV. It affords to this group the means of sparing women of high nervous organization all travail other than the crushing travail of child-bearing.

V. It is fertile and multiplies, so that it grows more abundant with the passage of time.

VI. But, as its ownership is mortal, its abundance is perpetually available for the improved posterity of any part of the group.

VII. Its continuous acquisition by improving strains effects the continuous deprivation of unimproving or declining strains; and therefore tends to offset the numerical advantage of their superior fecundity.

END OF VOLUME I.

901
T74
Vol. 1

23670

Date Due

DEMCO NO. 295

Due Mar. 23, 50				
AG 6 '57.				
AP 7 '59				
NO 11 '68 AP 14 '68				
AP 14 '68				